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A Short

HISTORY

OF THE

Kings of England:

SHEWING,

What Right every King had to the Crown, and the manner of their wearing of it, especially from *WILLIAM* the Conqueror, to *JAMES* the Second, that Abdicated his Three Kingdoms.

WHEREIN

Is made appear there hath been no direct Succession in the Line to create an Hereditary Right, for Six or Seven Hundred years. Faithfully Collected out of our best Histories.

Nihil est Imperium ut Sapientes definiunt, nisi cura salutis alienæ, *Amianus*. Lib. 9.

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THE

True Portraiture of the Kings of *ENGLAND*, drawn from their Titles, Successions, Reigns and Ends, &c.

TO treat of the Nature and Difference of Governments, the distinction and preheminence of Monarchy, or Aristocracy, with the other kinds and forms, which have, according to the temper of the People, and the necessity of providence, had their course in the World, will be useless in this discourse, which is calculated only for his Nation, and to describe not so much the Government, as the Persons who have ruled among us, and is only suited to Monarchy as it hath had the sway of the English Throne; a Discourse not so pleasing as profitable; we are loth to have our old Soars launced, or to think of change, though it be of misery, the temper of this Nation being apt to be pleased with any thing that is stately and costly, though never so dangerous and miserable; yet something must be said in General, to prepare the way for the particulars of this Treatise, which is not intended as controversal, or definitive of the Nature of things, but meerly practical and demonstrative, fit for every Eye that means not to shut himself up in blindness, and darkness.

As the Foundation and Original of Government is confest to be of equal Antiquity with the Generation and Multiplication of mankind: so doubtless the just and Methodical use, and due management of it, is as necessary to the well being of men, as the exact proportions and orderly motions of the Heavens are to the preservation

of the Globes; and certainly without it the rational World would be more miserable then the material without Sun Moon and Stars, with all coelestial influences, which as they do beautifie and bespangle the World, so they do preserve it from returning to its first Chaos and rude Mass of matter; nothing being more contrary to that unity and harmony, which the God of Nature hath moulded and disposed all things at first in, then disorder and confusion, in which, as there is nothing of a deity to be discerned, so nothing of peace or happiness can possibly be found.

And notwithstanding all this, the World hath scarce known what the Natural sweetness and true benefits of Government are, but only as comparative and rather as opposite to Anarchy, then as advancing really and effectually the just Liberties and Freedoms of Societies, or propagating the Commonwealth of mankind; for what through the ignorance and sloath of the people and the Pride and Ambition of Governors, the whole order and end of Government hath been inverted and subverted, upon all occasions, and that which was made for the good of the whole, hath been so contracted and circumscribed in one person, that the great and Soveraign use and end of it, by practise and custom, hath been rather to set up the pomp and state of one man, and his Family, then to promote or propagate the profit and happiness of the Universe; and whereas of right to its constitution, it should have a free Election as its original and common good for its end, and just and equal Laws for its rule, it hath had usurpation for its Principle, and Tyranny and Bondage for its medium and end. As to this day we may see in the greatest part of the World, where all the Liberties of Millions of men of all sorts of conditions and ranks, are buryed in the Glory and splendor of one Family; through which narrow Channels, all Honour and justice, all Law and reason are to run up and down the World.

And whereas the Goodness and Beauty of Government consists in the Harmonious Temperature of power and obedience of Authority and Liberty, it hath been quite otherwise inverted by practise, and made apparent to lie in the Majesty and Greatness of the Monarch, and the absolute Subjection and servitude of the people; and the excellency and sweetness of it rather to be seen in the presence-Chamber, and the magnificence and Grandeur of the Court, then in the Courts of Justice and the rich and flourishing Estate of the

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Kingdom, nothing being accounted more political, and glorious then to have the Prince high, and the Subjects Beggers; and yet this Ceremonial way of Government, hath took most place in the World, and got almost divine adoration, and hath thrust out all other forms of Government, equally sacred with it self, and most proportionable to the Nature and benefits of societies, and the Fee-simple of all the Liberties of the people (which are as their Blood and Spirits in their Veins) sold to maintain its State.

Besides many causes, and grounds of this degeneration (whereby so much misery hath overflowed the Nations of the World) I find two, which at present are principally to be mentioned; the first is the neglect of a right Sence, and the often inculcating the original and end of Government; and the next a lineal succession or continuation of Government, by a Natural and supposed heirship; For want of the first, neither the people know their own rights, or how to maintain them; or the Governor his use and end, nor how to keep himself within the just bounds and limits of his Creation; for what between the stupidity and ignorance of the people in not knowing their primitive priviledges, that they are the original and end of Government; and the pride and ambition of men, when once they have got power, forget both how they came by it, and to what end they are distinguished from other men, Government comes both to be Usurped and Tyrannical. Did the people but know that their Choice and Election is the foundation of just Authority and that none can rule over them but whom they appoint, they would not then be drawn into controversies and debates, whether it be Treason in them to cast off a bad Governor, who have the only power of chooſing a good one; and on the other side, if Kings and Princes (for to reduce all to them who have been most guilty of the abuse of Government) had but the continual Sence of the root from whence they sprung, and the duties annexed to their Offices, they could not look on themselves as Rulers, but Tyrants, when they acted for their own private Prerogative, in distinction from, and contrary to, the Liberties and Freedoms of the people; but these considerations have been by time and prescription worn out of the mind and memories of both, partly through continual insinuations of Court Maxims, and the Spirit of Bondage in the people, and by force and usurpation in the Magistrate, whereby it hath gone a long while for currant, that the people have no power, nor the Prince no ac-

count to give but to God, from whom they challenge an immediate title, as if Kings and Princes, all their names and ſucceſſions were let down from Heaven, in the ſame ſheet that the Beaſts were in *Peter's* viſion, and had no their root in the Earth as all other Magiſtrates beſides. We have had much ado of late, to beat off from theſe Royal notions both by pens and ſwords, and yet ſtill they have too ſtrong a hold in moſt mens hearts, though to their own undoing.

Whereas all men are equally born free, and naturaliz'd into all the priviledges of Freedom and juſt Liberty, no man can obtain a ſpecial power over any, but either *ex pacto aut ſcelere*, either by willing agreement and conſent, which is the right and juſt way of title, and moſt natural, or by conqueſt and uſurpation, which is moſt exotick and unjuſt; for the Original of Kingly power, in the Scripture, we all know it came in as an effect of the wantonneſs and diſcontents of the *Iſraelites*, againſt that ſpecial way of Government God himſelf had ſet over them; And view the Character God gives to them of that Government, and not a bleſſing he gives them with it; for its riſe among the Heathens and Nations (which knew not God among whom that Government moſt prevail'd; it was certainly firſt good, and grounded on the exorbitancies and exceſs of other Magiſtrates, and a high opinion of the juſtice and vertue of ſome particular perſons, as *Cicero lib. offic.* 2 excellently expreſſeth it; *Mihi quidem non apud Medos ſolum (ut ait Herodotus) ſed etiam apud majores noſtros, ſervandæ juſtitiæ cauſa videntur olim bene morati Reges conſtituti: nam cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem.* As if taking it for granted that among all Nations that preſervation and execution of juſtice, with injoyning of vertue, was the firſt ground of the conſtitution of Kings; But they having got by their own goodneſs chief Power and Authority, uſe that favour they had gained from their own deſerts, to advance their own family, and having got in the affections of the people, through the ſence of their own preſent worth, what by power and force, and what by policy and craft, got the ſame power entailed on their heirs, and ſo by cuſtom have made ſucceſſion the only right, or at leaſt the moſt juſt to Crowns and Scepters.

A principle which hath more hindred the advance of Government, and run it on more hazards and miſchiefs then any other, where by a fatal Cuſtom, people muſt be irreparably con-

tent,

tent with what they can find, and reducing all to a blind Fate and Fortune, be he good, or prove bad *talis, qualis*, give up both their own Wills and Liberties to ſuch a ſucceſſion, not only by a natural neceſſity, but a divine inſtitution: How the world came to be ſo blinded, as thus to give away their Rights and Liberties, and mortgage their underſtandings and freedom, as bankrupts do their lands, is not to be determined, but by ſuppoſal of a Judgment of God, and an over-reach of power and force, or by an *Ignis fatuus* of Policy and Subtilty.

For this natural and hereditary ſucceſſion (which is now adored as the grand title) if truly conſidered, is nothing elſe but a continuation of conqueſt, or a ſurpriſal by the good nature of the people, when they have been either low, and in fear, and taking advantage of their high eſteem of ſome eminent perſon, who hath been more then ordinary inſtrumental to them, have got the people to convey the ſame honour to their poſterity after them; the peoples conſent being thus raviſhed from them, its made a Law, both civil and divine to after generations; but the world is now, or ſhould be, grown wiſe: Let us conſider the nature and uſe of this ſucceſſion, both in general and particular, eſpecially as it hath been acted in *England*.

Among all the Catalogue of vanities which *Solomon* reckons up in his ſacred retractions, there is none he puts ſuch a character on, as for a man to ſpend his time and ſtrength in getting of riches, and knows not who ſhall ſucceed him in the enjoyment of the profit and good of his labour, or whether he may be a wiſe man or a fool; But what a miſery, and worſe than vanity is this, that the ſupream power of Government (in the right execution of which all the concernments of millions of men are intereſſed) ſhould be entailed on one Man (though never ſo deſerving in his own Perſon) and the heirs of his body, be he good or bad, a wiſe man, or very nigh a fool, and ſo all their happineſs depend on hap and hazard from generation to generation?

It cannot be rationally or ſpiritually ſuppoſed, that any man ſhould be born a Magiſtrate or Governor, eſpecially not ſucceſſively, when the beſt men, and moſt choiſe ſpirits, who have had the higheſt Eminencies of Vertue, and beſt Improvement of Education and natural Genius, are hardly fit for ſo great a Work. If Kings have ſuch a *vis formativa* in their loyns, as to beget Kings in the likeneſs

of

of their Office, as children in the image of their natures, it must be necessarily supposed, that they must generate all these Royal qualifications together with them, and by the same natural necessity transfer all their princely endowments to them also.

Whereas I had almost affirmed it, (and I hope no man can account it either Heresie or Treason) that God himself cannot intail on any particular line of mankind, the Power and Authority of Government out of his wisdom and love to their happiness (without he meant to do it in judgement, and to plague the World) and not give them suitable and successive qualifications also, fit for that employment; It being Gods use (according to his wisdom and righteousness) neither ordinarily nor extraordinarily to call out persons to any place, but he anoints them with proportionable gifts to it.

And yet the poor people (whom God hath naturally made free, and to make use of their own understandings and affections for their own good) are by this succession, bound up from the improvement either of Soul or Body, fain to be content with what they can get for the present, and to shift it out from age to age (with the loss of all opportunities of choice) only with what corrupt Nature brings them forth, which oftentimes travels sorely in pain with the curse of the Fathers who begat these Governors. Hence also it comes to pass, that oftentimes Children are made Kings, and though they are uncapable at present for the actual exercise of that office, yet are proclaimed, as having the right and title, and all things acted in their name, and the whole Commonwealth, it may be of many Nations must wait for his capacity with fear and hope, which capacity is also at best to be judged by his years, rather then fitness or qualification for so high a trust; and in the mean while the Kingdom must be governed by some Favorites of the last King, or some next kinsman to this; and while the King is thus in pupillage, we may well ask, who governs the Kingdom? And yet oftentimes it hath fain out, that their Government hath been better ordered in their nonage by others, then in their own by themselves, as appears especially in the raign of *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the sixth, Kings of *England*; the first being but nine years old when his father died, the latter but nine Months; who while they were young, and under the protection of certain wise and sober men, the Laws were administred uprightly, and with much Justice; but

when

when they themſelves came to the years of Kingſhip and Prerogative, ſo Royalled, that both Law and Liberties were ſoon altered and aboliſhed, as anon the Reader ſhall have a more exact account; And how ſad is it, that when Government may be advanced as well, if not better by others in their minority, without their preſence or influence, the world muſt be at ſuch vaſt charges for a title, and to maintain it ere they can uſe it, and which is worſt, that when they come to exerciſe it themſelves, ſhould make their title the ground of their Tyranny. But if it ſo happen (for its a meer chance) that the next Heir prove ſomewhat more then ordinary capable, yet what the next may prove, who knows? If he be an Infant, (as it many times falls out) then there muſt be patient and hopeful Waitings, to ſee what he will be when grown up; until that, there can be no further progreſs made in the alteration or Reformation of Affairs, though of never ſo great, and preſent concernment; and when he comes to theſe Years, which Cuſtom pronounceth him capable, how unreaſonable is it, that nothing can hinder, or exclude him from his Authority, but that he is incapable of being begg'd for a Fool? It being enough, if he can know his own Name, and be able to write himſelf *Rex*, though he knows little what belongs to the Office, or Relation of a King.

If he be one of Riper Years and Stature, on which this Succeſſion falls, then muſt all the Obſervation of his Nature, and the ominous, and more than Aſtrological Aſpects of his Conſtitution and Education be forgotten; and although ſilenced in his Pretended Title, and a full compliance looked after, though oppreſt with never ſo many fears, and ſecret wiſhes of a more hopeful Governor; yea, and though he hath been never ſo active againſt the liberties of the people, when but a Prince, and given demonſtrations what a Governor they may expect, yet his ſucceſſion muſt be his qualification and indemnity, and his Title his vertue.

On this ground alſo it comes to paſs, that oftentimes women come to hold the Reigns of Government, and to ſteer at the Helm, as well as men; for if there be any defect of the male line, the female ſucceeds; and that feeble and weaker ſex, whom God and nature have ordained to be only particular helps and good Subjects, (only to keep up the name of a Family) muſt be inveſted with the higheſt authority, over the choiceſt, and moſt ſelect ſpirits of many Nations, and all further thoughts of bettering the State of things utterly extinguiſh'd by a female pretence.

And

And which is most desperate by this succession, (and its plea of the only and absolute right) the Fundamental liberties of the people are not only insensibly undermined, but absolutly rooted up, and that Birth-right, Priviledge of the people, their Election and Choice, then which they have nothing more natural, and which is far more hereditary to them and theirs, then by all the Laws of God, nature and reason Crowns can be to Kings and their heirs, is quite extinguished; For pass by the first King, (who it may be as with us it hath been came in by Conquest) you must go back in some Kingdoms five hundred, in others a thousand years, ere you can but recover the clear notion of a free Election (wherein the people's power and priviledge is alone and peculiarly seen) and yet that so faintly and hardly extorted from them, as great loans of money from a cruel miser, without use or advantage; and though Election must be acknowledged at last, the first just ground of Government, yet custom in successions soon wears out its right, and transfers it on the next Blood; And though in *England* it appears by the Coronation Oath, that there is even in succession a kind of Election, yet its so limited in the line, that its as good as nothing, and so weak and implicitly manifested, that its but meer customary Ceremony, which always is pursued by the natural title, and only used to deceive the people, and as a step to the further confirmation of a more Fundamental and sure right; and its easie to demonstrate it; for our Kings soon forget it, ere they come from *Westminister* to *White-Hall*, or from the Chair of Inauguration to the Presence Chamber. In a word, what gives all this ground of such an inevitable and successively insensible incroachment on the Laws and Liberties of Nations, but this lineal title, whereby the Son without remedy goes on where the Father left off, and by a divine pretence seiseth on what by nature is due to the meanest Subject, as to himself? And what makes the present Kings so daring, and venturous to raise their own Prerogative, but this that they know there can be no alienation of the Crown from his Heirs, and that they may make it better (that is more Tyrannical?) but surer they cannot: And thus there is a constant hope and possibility, by continuation and propagation of principles and designs, backed with Title and Authority, that what cannot be done in one Kings reign, may be done in the next, and so on; For the minds of Princes are not usually contracted, or contented with present enjoyments; especially

if

if there be any reſtraint on their wills, or more of height, or advancement to be attained unto.

Yea, this is one of the main reaſons (that in our times can be rendred) why we have had ſuch uneven actings, and ſuch ſtrange alterations in ſeveral Kings Raigns; the principles and Laws, the people have been always the ſame, who are capable of ſmall or no variation or change, but as higher, and ſupream influences move them, of which none hath been ſo powerful as Princes, who as they are Stars of the firſt magnitude, ſo of the ſtrongeſt operations; and though the people be compared to the Sea, yet as the Sea, they have no turbulent motion of their own, but what is occaſioned by violent and uncertain winds; but the great change hath been by the temper and actings of Princes, and commonly the next ſucceſſor hath been the omen and fate of the times; if any way good, then the Nation ſmiled, and his raign began the Spring; if probable, there was hopes; and yet both theſe at firſt promiſed, but at length fruſtrated; and however the beginnings were, yet the ſucceſſion of acts demonſtrated how the Title was created; for until they have made their ſucceſſion ſure, none have been more fair, and promiſing, but afterwards both Laws and Liberties, like favourites, have been advanced *ad placitum*; and what they have got an intereſt in by nature, that by Prerogative they have centred in their own proper perſons, even the moſt fundamental priviledges of the people, and have only granted Leaſes unto the people of their own inheritances, and dated them not for life (which would have been too great a mercy) but as long as the Royal pleaſure laſts, which changes always with advantages. Yea, by this ſucceſſion Tyranny is ſo intailed, and all things ſo neceſſarily acted, as if the Prince were not only the civil, but natural Parent of the people, and that Kings had begot the people as ſo many Baſtards to obey, as they do beget one lawfully to raign over them.

Its too well known, that good and wiſe men are the feweſt of the Sons of men, and are commonly pickt out here and there, as rich Pearls on the ſhoar of violent torrents; but to expect in one Line and Family, a ſucceſſion of good, wiſe and governing men is almoſt as probable to Chriſtians, as to expect Mahomets ſecond coming among the *Turks*, after ſo many hundred years deluſion; and although it muſt be acknowledged, that there have been ſome good Kings, yet they have been ſo few, that as their names

from the beginning of the World can hardly make up the Dominical Letters in the Almanack, or possibly supply the Holy days in the year, so a little goodness hath gone far, and at the best we shall find it but comparative, good Kings instead of better Governors, as some of the *Roman Cæsars*, chose those to succeed them who were worse than themselves, that they might commend, and set off their own Reign, though tyrannical enough in it self; and we may without any Passion demonstrate, that the design by Succession hath been rather to keep up the Governors, and palliate their vices, than ever to maintain or heighten the glory and splendor, or carry on the benefit of the Government it self in the execution of good and righteous Laws.

But to come nigher home, and leave generals (granting Succession in it self to be a good Title) let us view without partiality, the succession of the Kings of *England*, whereby they plead their Title to the Crown, and we shall find in our Histories, that nothing hath been more commonly interrupted, than a Succession of the next Heir, and for this seven or eight hundred years (if not more) we have not had succession continued in any even line or just right, and no Title was ever more broken and unjust than of our Kings, if they make a Lineal and Hereditary succession the foundation of their right; Let us look but a little back to those which preceded the *Norman* race, especially among the *Saxons* and *Danes*, the ancient competitors for the Government of this Nation, and it will appear, that the right Heir hath been commonly past by; and Strangers or Usurpers preferred; to go no further back then to *Alfred* King of the West *Saxons*, and the twenty fourth Monarch of the *English* Men; as soon as he died, *Athelstan* his Bastard was preferred before his legitimate Son *Edmond*, and after him got his own Brother *Edmond* to succeed him (*Dan. Hist.* p. 14. *Speed.*) and though this *Edmond* left two Sons, *Edwin*, and *Edgar*, yet as he and his former Brother had Usurped the Government, so *Edred* his Brother stept into the Throne, and put them by until he had finished his Reign, and then they took their turns; *Edwin* first, and *Edgar* after him; this *Edgar* had two Wives, *Ethelfled* his First, and *Elfrida* the Second: by the first he had issue, *Edward*, Sir-named the Martyr, who succeeded his Father in Title, but having hardly felt the Crown warm, and fast on his Head, was cruelly Murthered, to make way for the second Wives Son *Ethelred* who succeeded him, as *Daniel* well expresseth it, whose entrance into his Reign

Reign was Blood, the middle Misery, and the end Confusion; and though he left his Son *Edmond*, Sir named *Ironside*, to succeed him, yet *Canutus* the *Dane* by compact got half of the Kingdom from him, and soon after the whole, setting up his *Danish* Title, and Murthering the two Sons *Edmond* had left, with his Brother *Edwin*, that no further pretence might be made by them of their Title; and now come the *Danes* to convey their Title by *Canutus*; and yet *Harold* his Bastard gets the Crown before *Hardicanute*, who was his legitimate Son; and among these three Kings (for the Government under the *Danes* continued but twenty six years,) and only under these three was none Usurper, & immediately interrupted the right of succession. And the *Danes* Government being ended, (which was but an interval of conquest) the *Saxons* regain their Title; and *Edward*, called the *Confessor*, the seventh Son of *Ethelred* (who came in with the Murther of the right Heir) being kept as a reserve in *Normandy*) is Elected King, and the *Saxons* Title now begins to revive, but soon it is extinguished, not only by the *Norman* pretence, but by the next successor, *Harold* the Second, Son to *Goodwin*, Earl of *Kent*, who came in with the expulsion of *Edgar Athlings* the proper successor. (*Vide Speed.*)

And with *Harold* ended the *Saxon* race, which had lasted about five hundred years, after the coming in of *Hengist*, and their Plantation in this Kingdom; and yet you see what have been the Titles successively of these former Kings, wherein the Line hath not only been now and then through force and violence cut off and discontinued, but usurpation solemnized with as much Ceremony as any natural pretence: but these Instances are but as representations of objects afar off, which may seem other wise then they are; we will go on and review the Title of our Kings from *William* the *Norman*, Sir-named the Conqueror, and by whom, not only the line, but all the whole frame of Laws and Liberties were not only curtail'd but changed, for though in the Reigns of the former Kings, every Conqueror made his impression, and drew his Picture in *England*, yet never was the whole Scene of State changed until now, and a new Model so peremptorily (and without repeal) introduced, as by him: The first *jus*, or right of his Title (the only foundation of all the rest of our later Kings) we all know was by meer Conquest, which as it is a disseisin in Law, so an unjust Title in Reason, and common to one as unto another: yet he though a Bastard, (and so

had leſs Title to his Dukedom then to *England* which he won by the Sword) made himſelf the principal of that divine Succeſſion we now ſtand upon, and all our Kings have no other pretence then by the ſucceſſion of his Sword; and certainly, if the Fountain, and Head-Spring be corrupt, the ſtream cannot be Chriſtial and pure; and yet (as Baron *Thorpe* declares in his Charge given at the Aſſizes holden at *York* the twentieth of *March*, 1648. and now in Print) of all theſe twenty four *Kings*, which have *King'd* it amongſt us ſince that *William*, there are but ſeven of them that could pretend legality to ſucceed their former predeceſſors, either by lineal, or collateral Title, (and he might have contracted that number, (and have been modeſt enough.) But that the Reader may not be prejudiced, or wrap up his underſtanding in any expreſſion, let him but follow the deſcents of the *Kings* of *England* in the line, (and pardon the firſt ſtrange and exortick way of right) and he will diſcover, that as the firſt Title was created by force, ſo the ſucceſſion hath been continued by uſurpation. *Speed* (too Royal a Writer) gives us a hint to go on upon in the Life of *Henry* the Fourth, page 746. (asketh by way of Interrogation) What right had *Will.* the Conqueror, the Father of all our glorious Tyrants? What right (we ſpeak, ſaith he, of a right of equity) had his Son *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the firſt, while their Elder Brother lived? and ſo he goes on. But to give a more particular account to the Reader, how every *King* came to his Crown, let us begin with the firſt of the firſt.

After that the firſt *William*, who laid the foundation of his right in the Blood of the *Engliſh*, had left this World, as well as his Kingdom, great ſtrivings there were who ſhould ſucceed; and though he left three Sons, *Robert*, *William* and *Henry*, yet could leave but one Heir, which was *Robert*; yet *William* Sir-named *Rufus*, gets the Crown ſet on his head, notwithſtanding the elder brothers title, and though *Robert* fights for his right, yet being too weak in the field, is forc't to a compoſition, on theſe terms that he ſhould injoy it after his deceaſe, if he hapned to ſurvive; and yet notwithſtanding, *Henry* the youngeſt Brother (called *Henry* the Firſt) ſteps in, and makes uſe of his Brothers abſence to ſet up himſelf in his place; and *Robert* yet ſurviving, he wears it in his ſtead, and however he ſtrove to regain his right, he at laſt was fain to yield up, not only his Title, but his Perſon to *Henry*, who not only unjuſtly excluded him from the ſucceſſion to the Kingdom, but cruelly put out his Eyes that he might

might only feel his miſery, and never ſee his remedy. The line male of the Conqueror is now extinct, as well as it was irregularly diverted; as *William* got his right by his Sword, ſo all his ſucceſſors maintained it in imitation of him, rather then by any legal pretence they could derive from him. But *Henry* the firſt (though he had come in over the back of his Elder Brother) that he might make more ſure work for a ſucceſſion, wanting iſſue male living, pitcheth on *Maud* his Daughter, formerly married to the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth, who left her a Widow, and died without iſſue; and having ſworn all the Nobility (eſpecially *Stephen*) to her, ordained her and her iſſue to be his ſucceſſors in *Englands* Throne, and married her again to *Jeoffrey Plantagenet*, the Son and her Heir apparent of *Fulk*, then Earl of *Anjou*, by whom ſhe had three Sons, *Henry*, *Jeffrey*, and *William*; to *Henry* the Crown belonged as next Heir after his Mother (by the uſurped Title of his Father,) yet *Stephen*, Earl of *Mortain*, and *Bulloign*, Son to *Adelincia* the third Daughter of *William* the Conqueror, by *Maud* his wife, (notwithſtanding his Oath to the laſt King) gets the Crown ſet on his own head, and excludes her, and her iſſue for the preſent; yet after he died, *Henry*, called the ſecond, Sirnamed *Shortmantle*, though his Mother was alive, enjoys it. This *Henry* had ſix Sons, *William*, *Henry Richard*, *Jeoffrey*, *Philip*, *John*; the two firſt dying, *Richard* the third Son, the firſt of that name, Sirnamed *Ceur de Lyon* ſucceeded his Father; this *Richard* dying without iſſue, his youngeſt Brother *John* uſurps the Crown, notwithſtanding *Jeoffrey* his Eldeſt Brother had left a young Son, named *Arthur Plantaganet King* of *Brittain*, who was Heir apparent to the Crown, and after he dyed, *Henry* his Son the third of that name ſucceeds him, though *Arthurs* Siſter was then alive, (though in priſon) who was next to the Title (ſuch as it was) after him *Edward* Sirnamed *Longſhanks*, called *Edward* the firſt, lays hold on the Crown and wore it with much Majeſty, and after him *Edward* the ſecond his Son goes on, but ſtill on the old account, and on the ruin of the moſt proper Heirs; this *Edward* was depoſed by the Parliament for his ill Government, as anon ſhall be more fully related, and his Son *Edward* the third of that name ſet up in his room; after him followed *Richard* the ſecond, Son to the black Prince, who was alſo depoſed, after whoſe dethroning, *Henry* called the fourth, Son to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Uncle to the former King, ſnatcheth up the Crown, though of right it was to deſcend to *Edmond Mortimore*, Earl of *March*, the Son and Heir of *Lionel* Duke

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of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the third, and an Elder Brother of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*; and thus we have nothing hitherto, but interruption and usurpation; and those which in their own reigns can pretend a Divine Title by succession, which must not be altered, can for their advantage put by the succession of the issue of others. But to go on, Here now began the Bloody Wars and Contests between the House of *Lancaster* and *York*, which made the World to ring of the misery of the Civil Wars of *England*, and all about a Title, and neither of them (if seriously weighed) had a right Title by succession, if the first Title of their Ancestors were to be the original; But that custom might be the best right, he got in his Son *Henry*, who was the fifth of that name, to succeed; and his Son *Henry* the sixth (though an infant) takes his place, until *Edward* Duke of *York* overthrew his Army in the Battel at *Towton* Field, and got him deposed, and was Proclaimed King by the name of *Edward* the Fourth, though the Title had been carried on in the House of *Lancaster* thorow three descents; thus favor and fortune, not lineal succession always gave the best Title; this *Edward* left two Sons behind him, (to maintain the succession of the House of *York*) *Edward* and *Richard* Duke of *York* and five Daughters. His Eldest Son *Edward* who was the fifth of that name, succeeded him in Claim and Title, but rather lived then raigned (being an infant) had never any actual exercise of his Government; for *Ric.* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Uncle to this Infant and made his Protector, that he might set up himself, causeth both the young Titular King and his Brother, (these two Royal Infants) to be barbarously Murthered in their Beds, and so wears the Crown himself, by the name of *Richard* the Third, until *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* (a twig of a Bastard of *John* of *Gaunt*) by his valour at *Bosworth* field having overthrown his Army, slew the Tyrant himself and created by his sword (for other he had none) a new Title to himself, and was Crowned King, by the name of *Henry* the Seventh, who, what by his power and by a marriage of the Lady *Eliz.* the Eldest Daughter of *Ed.* the Fourth, confirmed his succession, and from him do all our later Princes derive their Title, as *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, *Queen Mary*, *Queen Elizabeth*, King *James*, King *Charles*, I. &c. This *Henry*, the foundation of our great ones, was himself but a private man, who as *Speed* says, had scarce any thing of a just Title, or of a warrantable intention but to remove an Usurper; besides there were many natural Heirs

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of the House of *York*, which were Children of *Edward* the Fourth, and *George* Duke of *Clarence Richards* Elder Brother, who had better right, but when once a Title is made, it must be maintained, and if it can but get throw two or three Successors, it's presently Proclaimed to be *jure divino*, and pleaded as the only just Title and Right.

Thus you have a faithful and true account of the succession of our *Norman Monarchs*; we can only say we have had so many persons raigning, and as Kings of *England*; but for a Title by lineal succession, there is none, but what every man may make as well as any man, and what is as proper to a stranger, as to an Heir; power, and favour, murther and deceit being the most common principles of the right of most of our Kings to their Government over us. If it be asked, as *Speed* doth, what right had *William* the Conqueror? then it must follow, what right had all the rest? but supposing his right, what right had these, who so many times cut off the line, and made themselves the Stock of future succession? and what misery is it that this broken and usurped Title must still be forced on us, even by an Ecclesiastical and Divine Institution, who have now a way of redeeming our Liberties, and bettering our conditions, and following the direct line of just and true Titles, the Election and choice of the people? Is not five or six hundred years enough for *England* to be under the succession of a *Norman* Bastard (pardon the expression, its true though plain) and to be sold with all its liberties, from usurpation to usurpation, as well as from generation to generation? I need not be very zealous in application, the History is enough to make all wise men consider, by whom we have all this while been governed, and upon what terms; How Tyranny and usurpation comes to be adored, if it have but a Royal name added to it. Shall the Parliament of *England* be now blamed for cutting off Usurpers and Tyrants, and reducing affairs to their first natural and right principle; or will the people of *England* after all their experiences, centre their Liberties and Freedoms in a customary usurpation of succession, and lose their Commonwealth for the personal Glory of a Pretender? especially, when they have fought against the Father, and cut him off as a Tyrant, endeavour to set up the Son to follow on both the first cause, and revenge, meerly because he was supposed to be proceeded of his loyns: this blindness will be our misery, and endear us

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to a more perfect and more Tyrannical ſlavery then ever yet *England* felt.

But to go on, the Reader hath ſeen what a line we have had in *England*, and how pure a Title our Kings have had to their Crowns; Lets now but have patience to view their actings ſucceſſively, and yet ſhortly, and we ſhall better gueſs of their right by their raigns; for though one would think that they ſhould endeavour to make good a bad Title by a good raign, yet it hath been far otherwiſe; every man having made his right by force, maintained it by Tyranny; and when they have gotten power, never remembered how, or to what end they attained it; if we look back again, and make a new and ſtrict ſurvey of their ſeveral actings in their Government, and go over every Kings head ſince *Willam* the Conqueror, we ſhall not much miſtake if we paſs by *Turky*, *Ruſſia*, the *Moors*, and yet call *Englands* Kings Tyrants, and their Subjects Slaves; and however in the Theory and Syſtem it have been limited and bounded by good and diſtinguiſhing Laws, yet in the exerciſe an practic part almoſt of every *King's* Raign, we ſhall find it deſerve as bad a name as others who are called moſt abſolute; for the Laws and Priviledges which this poor Nation hath enjoyed, as they have been but complementally granted for the moſt part, and with much deſign, ſo they have ever (upon any occaſion) proved but weak and low Hedges againſt the Spring-tides, and Land-floods of the Prerogative of the Prince, which hath always gained more on the Priviledges of the people, then ever the Sea by all its waſhing and beatings of its boyſterous and unmerciful Waves hath gained on the Land; for if at any time the poor Commons (through much ſtrugling, and a good and preſent neceſſitous mood of the Prince) have got off any preſent oppreſſions, and forced out the promiſe for enacting of any good and ſeaſonable Laws: yet either the next advantage, or at leaſt the next ſucceſſor, hath been ſure, either to ſilence, or diſannul it, and incroached upon it; and never was Priviledge or good Laws enacted, or gained to the people, but by hard preſſure of the Subject, and with a predominant ingredient of the *Kings* advantage, and ſtill rather out of courteſie then right. We ſhall find alſo, that *England* for three or four hundred years together (ſome *lucida intervalla* excepted) hath been a ſtage of Blood, and the aſtoniſhment of all Nations in civil Wars, and that meerly, either for the clearing of the Title of the Crown

(which

(which yet at last was only made lawful by the prevailing power, and as soon made illegal when another side got the better) or else by the Subjects and Barons, taking up Arms to defend themselves, and make Rampiers (if possible) against the inundation of Prerogative, and rather preserving, then obtaining any additions of liberties, and yet they were commonly defeated at last; for if for the present by some eminent advantage, they got a little ground, they soon lost it again by royal stratagems, and were either forced, or complemented into their old miseries, with a worse remembrance of former actings, But to enter into the particulars of this sad Story.

All men know (or may) the tyrannical domination of that First *William*, who behaved himself as a Conqueror indeed, and a most perfect tyrant (since whom we have never had an *English* Man, but one, who hath been naturalized by the succession of his Conquest as King of *England*) he presently changed most of our Laws, especially those wherein the *English* liberties were most transparent, and preserved, and made new Laws, and those which he left, writ them all in *French*; disweaponed all the Natives, sent the children of the best and most faithful of the Nobility into *Normandy* as Hostages, and the most gallant of the *English* were transported by him into *France* to serve his Wars, that he might extinguish their Families; he advanced his *Normans* into all places of the Nation, and kept them as a guard over the *English*; brought in the Cruel Forrest Laws, and dispeopled for thirty miles together in *Hampshire*, pulling down many Towns and Villages, with Churches, Chappels, and Gentlemens Houses, making it a Forrest for wild Beasts, (which is ever since named the *New Forrest*, but was the old ensign of our misery and slavery) he laid on innumerable Taxes, and made Laws royal, very severe, and in an unknown Language, that the *English* offending might forfeit their Estates and Lands to him, which they often did, through ignorance: But alas, what need I mention these? who ever reads but our Histories, (and the most favourable, and fawning Royalist) will see more then now can be expressed; and yet here is the first fruits of our *Kings* and of their righteous Title, whose succession hath been as much in tyranny after him, as in title: and yet we must, by a sacred obligation be bound to maintain with our blood and lives, the branches of this rotten root, notwithstanding all the providential and divine opportunities

of casting off that miserable yoak which our forefathers, so sadly groaned under, and would have triumphed in the pouring out their blood (which they shed freely, but to little purpose) but to have foreseen their childrens children might have but the hopes of attaining to.

But although *William* the First made sure his Conquest to his own Person, yet by his Tyranny he gave ground of designs, and hopes of recovery after his death, & therefore the People who but murmured and mourned in secret formerly, consider now their condition, and that *Robert* the right Heir was wanting, and his second Son endeavored to be set up, begin to capitulate, and repeat their former grievances: and to stand upon their terms, with the next Successors; But *William Rufus* who longed for the Crown, and saw what advantage he had by his Brothers absence, through the mediation of *Lanke-frank* the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (a Man for his Vertue and Learning in great Esteem with the People) got himself to be accepted, and Crowned King (with exclusion of his Elder Brother) by fair promises, and engagements to repeal his Fathers Laws, and of promoting the Liberties of the *English* (any probability being then taking to the poor people.) But no sooner had he got the Crown fastned on his Head, (and defeated his Brother in battle) but he forgat all his own promises, follows directly his Fathers steps, grows excessive covetous, lays on intolerable Taxes, and merciless exactions, returns their longings, and hopes after their just Liberty into a sad Bondage and Slavery. The poor people having thus smarted for their credulity, and renewing their sense of their misery, under the two former Tyrants, take heart once again, and refuse to admit any after his death, until (as Judge *Thorpe* well expresseth it in that forementioned Discourse) they were cheated into a second Election of *Hen* the first, his youngest Brother; for the People standing for their Liberties (and yet, alas, but negatively, rather to be freed from excess of oppression, than knowing what true freedom was) having felt the misery of their loss in the two former persons (shall I call them *Kings*?) Raign; denyed any consent to another person of that stock without solemn capitulations and covenants to settle just Laws, and to ingage for the execution of them, with abrogation of all former mischievous and inconvenient ones (which *Matthew Paris* calls unworthily a Politick, but traiterous way of capitulating.) Whereupon *Henry*, who had nothing of Title, made Friends by his

engagements

engagements, and *Roberts* absence in the *Holy-Land*, and doth absolutely promise to begin all anew, constitute just Laws, reform his Fathers and Brothers exorbitances, and to be as a Nursing Father both to Church and State; these fair insinuations got him the Crown, though *Robert* was to have it first by his own right, and next by his Brother's Covenant and Will.

And that he might not seem altogether disproportionable to his engagement, the first action of his government was to bait the people, and sugar their Subjection, as his Predecessor in the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and advisedness (*see Dan. Life of *Henry I.*) but having once secured his Title from his Brothers *jus*, and setled some affairs abroad, began much after the old strain (yet not altogether so violent) yet these cruel and savage Laws of the Forest, he revived, and put in execution, yea, urged as the most fundamental Law of the Realm, and many sore Impositions he levied, which the People were not able to bear, that these two sons, tho they ended the direct Line, yet they propagated their Father's Tyranny; only he got the Throne by Force, they by Subtilty, and delusive engagements; and now the poor People, who had still been cozened, and are commonly passive, begin in the next Kings reign, *viz.* of *Stephen* another Usurper, to be active, and to struggle for their liberties more seriously and throughly, and not contented with promises of abating former pressures, drew up the Sum of their desires in a more exact method, and demand publickly the restoring and re-establishing of *St. Edward's* Laws, for such a rarity was that former Prince, as they canonized him a Saint, which were many years before granted, but by new and strange Successions buried, and *Stephen*, who came in odly to the Crown, and was continually in various Motions to maintain it, confirmed all these Laws, and to gain the People, ratifyed them by Parliament, the best security in these cases: But soon after Prerogative, like a Lion in chains, breaks forth again with fuller rage, and devours all these grants, with the hopes, and expectations of the people; for though in the two next Kings Reigns these grants were not actually repealed, yet were laid by, and only wrapt up in parchments, and husht by the noise of Drums, and Trumpets. For *Henry* the Second, the next King, spent most of his time in clearing the Controversie, between *Regnum & Sacerdotium*, the Crown and the Mitre, as in setling his own Title both here, and in *Normandy*, and *Ireland*; a while he and *Thomas Becket*

were ſtanding in the ſpecial Rights and Priviledges of the Church and State, the liberties of the people were laid aſleep; and certainly he hated the former grants, becauſe made by *Stephen*, who had ſtolen the Crown both from his Mother, and himſelf; the notableſt ſtory in this Kings Reign (ſetting by his warlike atchievements) is, that after *Becket* had often foiled him in his Authority, he was handſomly whipt by the Monks, in going to viſit *Beckets* ſhrine, which was part of his penance, for giving ſecret order to Aſſaſſinats to make him away; And that he kept *Roſamond* as his Concubine, to the vexation of *Elenor* his Wife, who at laſt vented her revenge on her, having found her out in that intricate Labyrinth made on purpoſe for her at *Woodſtock*, by the clew which *Roſamond* had careleſly untwiſted.

The next that laid claim to this Crown, was his Son *Richard* the Firſt, Sir-named *Ceur de Lion* (as before) who was to be commended rather for his perſonal Valour, in other Nations, then for any good done to this; He began well in enlarging his Mother *Elenor*, whom his Father had imoriſoned, becauſe ſhe could not abide his laſcivious living with his wanton Paragon *Roſamond*, and advanced many perſons by ſpecial favours; yet theſe reſpects were more particular, then of any publick advantage to the State; for out of a blind zeal in thoſe times, after he had been in *England* but four Months after his Coronation, he went into the *Holy-land*, againſt the *Turks*, leaving the Regency of the Kingdom to an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon *William Lonchampe*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who to pleaſe the King, and by ſpecial Command, undid the People, and committed great exactions, and as *Hoveden* ſays, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens faſq; nefaſq;* did all as he liſted, and little cared by what means he filled the Kings Coffers, and his own; (acting but by Proxy and in imitation of what his Maſter would have done, if at home, & by many a private command) as it afterwards proved; for when *Richard* undertook his voyage, that he might not ſeem at firſt burthenſom to the people when he left them, and to maintain both his deſign, and abſence on their purſes (and ſo alienate the affections from him when at ſo great a diſtance, and give grounds to his Brother *John* to try an experiment for the Title) wiſely ſold much of his own Eſtate to raiſe him Monies, as the Caſtles of *Bermick* and *Roxborough*, to the King of *Scots* for ten thouſand pounds, and the Lordſhip and Earldom of *Durham*, to *Hugh* then

Biſhop

Bishop of that See, for much mony, as also many Honors, Lordships, Mannors, Offices, Priviledges, Royalties, to many of the Nobles, and rich Commoners, whereby he furnished himself with a vast treasury of mony for that service; and that you may see what interest he and his companions think they have in his peoples goods (however they dissemble it) he often protested that he would sell his City of *London* (as my Author saith) to any that would buy it rather then be chargeable unto others; but notwithstanding all this, as the people were sadly oppresst in his absence by his Viceroy, so much more when he returned by himself; for he then began to redeem his time, and to play *Rex* with a witness; he fell presently to plunder all Religious Houses, laid on new and unheard of Taxes on the people, and resumed into his hands again all the Lordships, Mannors, Castles, &c. which he had sold to his Subjects, and confirmed it by all the security they could have from man; this is the misery of depending on Royal promises, and engagements, which are usually nothing else but complemental engins to move up the peoples affections, while they more easily, and insensibly drain out their Blood, and purses, this was the end of this Rough, and Lionlike King, who reigned nine years, and nine months, wherein he exacted and consumed more of this Kingdom then all his Predecessors from the *Norman* had done before him, and yet less deserved it then any, having neither lived here, nor left behind him a monument of piety, or any publick work, or ever shewed love or care to this Common-wealth, but only to get what he could from it; we see hitherto what a race of Kings we have had, and what cause we have to glory in any thing but their Tombs; and yet if we expect better afterwards, we shall be as much mistaken of their actings as they were of their right.

The next that raigned (though without any hereditary Title) was King *John*, *Stephens* Brother; whose government was as unjust as his Title, for he (having by Election out of fear and policy of State, got the Crown, with expulsion of *Arthur* the right Heir *ut supra*) embarked the State, and himself in these miserable incumberances, through his violence and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the Government which followed; the whole reign of this King was a perfect Tyranny; there is in History hardly one good word given him; the Barons and Clergy continually opposed him, strugling for a confirmation of

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were ſtanding in the ſpecial Rights and Priviledges of the Church and State, the liberties of the people were laid aſleep; and certainly he hated the former grants, becauſe made by *Stephen*, who had ſtolen the Crown both from his Mother, and himſelf; the notableſt ſtory in this Kings Reign (ſetting by his warlike atchievements) is, that after *Becket* had often foiled him in his Authority, he was handſomly whipt by the Monks, in going to viſit *Beckets* ſhrine, which was part of his pennance, for giving ſecret order to Aſſaſſinats to make him away; And that he kept *Roſamond* as his Concubine, to the vexation of *Elenor* his Wife, who at laſt vented her revenge on her, having found her out in that intricate Labyrinth made on purpoſe for her at *Woodſtock*, by the clew which *Roſamond* had careleſly untwiſted.

The next that laid claim to this Crown, was his Son *Richard* the Firſt, Sir-named *Ceur de Lion* (as before) who was to be commended rather for his perſonal Valour, in other Nations, then for any good done to this; He began well in enlarging his Mother *Elenor*, whom his Father had imoriſoned, becauſe ſhe could not abide his laſcivious living with his wanton Paragon *Roſamond*, and advanced many perſons by ſpecial favours; yet theſe reſpects were more particular, then of any publick advantage to the State; for out of a blind zeal in thoſe times, after he had been in *England* but four Months after his Coronation, he went into the *Holy-land*, againſt the *Turks*, leaving the Regency of the Kingdom to an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon *William Lonchampe*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who to pleaſe the King, and by ſpecial Command, undid the People, and committed great exactions, and as *Hoveden* ſays, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens faſq; neſaſq;* did all as he liſted, and little cared by what means he filled the Kings Coffers, and his own; (acting but by Proxy and in imitation of what his Maſter would have done, if at home, &c by many a private command) as it afterwards proved; for when *Richard* undertook his voyage, that he might not ſeem at firſt burthenſom to the people when he left them, and to maintain both his deſign, and abſence on their purſes (and ſo alienate the affections from him when at ſo great a diſtance, and give grounds to his Brother *John* to try an experiment for the Title) wiſely ſold much of his own Eſtate to raiſe him Monies, as the Caſtles of *Bermick* and *Roxborough*, to the King of *Scots* for ten thouſand pounds, and the Lordſhip and Earldom of *Durham*, to *Hugh* then Biſhop

Bishop of that See, for much mony, as also many Honors, Lordships, Mannors, Offices, Priviledges, Royalties, to many of the Nobles, and rich Commoners, whereby he furnished himself with a vast treasury of mony for that service; and that you may see what interest he and his companions think they have in his peoples goods (however they dissemble it) he often protested that he would sell his City of *London* (as my Author saith) to any that would buy it rather then be chargeable unto others; but notwithstanding all this, as the people were sadly oppress in his absence by his Viceroy, so much more when he returned by himself; for he then began to redeem his time, and to play *Rex* with a witness; he fell presently to plunder all Religious Houses, laid on new and unheard of Taxes on the people, and resumed into his hands again all the Lordships, Mannors, Castles, &c. which he had sold to his Subjects, and confirmed it by all the security they could have from man; this is the misery of depending on Royal promises, and engagements, which are usually nothing else but complemental engins to move up the peoples affections, while they more easily, and insensibly drain out their Blood, and purses, this was the end of this Rough, and Lionlike King, who reigned nine years, and nine months, wherein he exacted and consumed more of this Kingdom then all his Predecessors from the *Norman* had done before him, and yet less deserved it then any, having neither lived here, nor left behind him a monument of piety, or any publick work, or ever shewed love or care to this Common-wealth, but only to get what he could from it; we see hitherto what a race of Kings we have had, and what cause we have to glory in any thing but their Tombs; and yet if we expect better afterwards, we shall be as much mistaken of their actings as they were of their right.

The next that raigned (though without any hereditary Title) was King *John*, *Stephens* Brother; whose government was as unjust as his Title, for he (having by Election out of fear and policy of State, got the Crown, with expulsion of *Arthur* the right Heir *ut supra*) embarked the State, and himself in these miserable incumberances, through his violence and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the Government which followed; the whole reign of this King was a perfect Tyranny; there is in History hardly one good word given him; the Barons and Clergy continually opposed him, strugling for a confirmation of their

their long desired Liberties, but were most commonly either eluded, or defeated by promises which were never intended to be performed, until at last being more entirely united with the Commons, and stoutly resolved and confirmed by an Oath, taken at St. *Edmonds-Bury* in a general Assembly, they then swore on the high Altar, never to lay down Arms, if King *John* refused to confirm and restore unto them these Liberties (the rights which this Kingdom was formerly blest with, and which all the late Kings had cheated them of) the King knowing their power, and considering their engagements, makes use of policy, and desired time to answer them, entertaining them with smooth and gentle Language, and courtesie, until he had got strength, and then he began anew to try experiments of securing himself, and frustrating their desires: But the Lords continuing their resolution, and knowing nothing was to be obtained but by strong hand, assembled themselves with a great Army at *Stamford*, from whence they marched towards the King, who was then at *Oxford*; sent him a Schedule of their claimed Liberties, with an Appendix of their absolute resolutions, in case of his denyal; this Tyrant having heard them read, with much passion replies: *Why do they not demand the Kingdom as well?* and swore he would never grant these Liberties, whereby himself should be made a servant: The Barons upon his Answer being (as *Daniel* saith) as hasty as he was averse, resolve to seaze on his Castles and Possessions; and repairing to *London*, being welcomed by the Citizens, who had too long groaned under the same Tyranny, they get a great access of strength by new confederates, and renew their Spirits and Oaths for the thorow prosecution of the War; the King seeing himself in a strait, which by no ordinary strength he could evade, by gentle and teeming Messages sent to the Barons, he obtained a Conference in a Meadow called *Running-mead*, between *Windsor* and *Stanes*, where armed multitudes came from all places, crying nothing but *Liberty, Liberty*, so sweet was that tone to them then: After many hard Conferences, the King seeing it no time to dally, and that they would not trust him with any complemental expressions, whom they looked on as formerly perjured grants their desires; not only, saith *Speed*, for Liberties specified in *Magna Charta* and *Charta Forrestæ*, but also for a kind of sway in the Government, by five and twenty selected Peers, who were to be as a check over the King, and his chief Justiciar, and all his Officers to whom any appeal might be made in

case

caſe of breach of any Article or priviledge confirmed by that Charter; And now one would think the people were ſecure enough; but though they ſeem now to have the liberty, yet they had not the ſeiſin; for preſently the King having got new credit by the largneſs of his grants, gets liberty with leſs ſuſpicion to undo all; and in a ſhort time (pretending theſe grants to be acts of force) having got power, renounceth his engagement by them, and afterwards repeals them, and diſpoiled all theſe of their Lands, and poſſeſſions, who had any hand or heart in procuring the former grants; and by new and additional Laws made them more perfect ſlaves then ever they were before, until at laſt he was poyſoned by a Monk, inſtead of being depoſed.

But though he be dead, yet the miſeries of this Nation ended not with him; for his Son *Henry* the Third; who ſucceeded him, though he could not at firſt follow on his Fathers deſigns, being an Infant, yet at laſt did not only imitate, but outſtript him; yet the *Engliſh* Nation, (who are much given to credulity, and apt to be won by fair and plauſible promiſes,) notwithſtanding all the Fathers iniquity, imbrace the Son, having taken an Oath of him to reſtore, and confirm the Liberties they propounded to his Father, which he had often granted, and as often broken; but for all his firſt Oath, they were fain, not only to remember him of it, by petitions, but oftentimes by Arms and ſtrength. And though there was in this Kings Raign twenty one Parliaments called, and many great Subſidies granted, in confirmation of their Liberties, yet every Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but the ingagement ceaſed; a hint of two or three ſpecial Parliaments, and their ſucceſs will not be amiſs to be ſet down in this place.

This *King* not being able to ſuppreſs the Barons and people by his own ſtrength, (they having gotten not only heart, but power) ſends to Forraign Nations for aid, and entertains *Poictovines*, *Italians*, *Almains*, *Provincioes* to ſubdue his own people, and ſet them in great places; which dangerous and deſperate deſign the Barons much reſenting, raiſed their Spirits, and ingaged them in oppoſition to his Government, and ſet them on with more courage to look after their Liberties; therefore they ſeveral times ſtand up againſt the violence of Prerogative; but what through want of ſtrength or caution they were commonly diſappointed; yet rather (if we may ſpeak truly) from the unfaithfulneſs of the *King* then any

any other defect, except it were their easiness to believe *Kings*, when their Prerogative, and the peoples Liberties came in competition; for after they had many times got, or rather extorted many promises, and confirmed them by Oaths, (the best human security) they were put to new designs, through either the suspension, or breach of them, witness these Instances, after many foiles, and tedious and various delusions by this *King*, (whose beams attracted most, dazled others) the Barons, and people (who were then unanimous through mutual oppressions) fall more close, and severe on their principles, and will not endure either delays, or delusions, and therefore effectually to redress their grievances, came very well Armed to a Parliament then holden at *Oxford* (intended rather for getting Subsidies, then removing oppressions) in which Assembly they put the King to it, urge their former complaints with more zeal and reason, and with an addition of a mighty Spirit, demand the absolute confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and in a larger edition (wherein are comprised those Gallant Priviledges of the Commons of *England*, which have yet been but kept by Ink and Parchment) and not trusting the King, got his Son, Prince *Edward*, to seal it, with an addition of twenty four (some writ twelve) Peers which *Fabian* stiles the *douze Peeres*, not only to see these Priviledges truly observed, but to be as joynt Regents with the King; and all the Lords, and Bishops in Parliament took a like Oath to maintain these Articles inviolable; yea, and all that would have any benefit of residence in the Kingdom, were enjoyned to take the same; But these were too strict bonds for such a Princes will, he soon finding advantages (as he sought them) recals all, gets a dispensation from the Pope for his forced Oath and to countenance his perjury, and acts in the old account; the Barons again stand up with the people stoutly for the performance of the Articles of *Oxford*, and sometimes brought him into straits; yea, fully defeated him in many Bloody Battels, and regained the confirmation of the same Laws, with security; that all the Castles throughout *England* should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons, that the provisions of *Oxford* be inviolably preserved, that all strangers should be dismist the Kingdom, but those which by general consent should be thought fit to remain; this necessitous act though as it gave the people some peace and hopes, so it gave the King time to consider of new *medium*, and therefore still to delay, and blind, he Assembles a new

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Parliament at *London*, where having (by the ſprinkling of Court water) won many Lords to take his part, begins to ſurpriſe as many of the Barons as he could get, and ſpoiled their Caſtles and Houſes, that ſucceſs and authority grows ſtrong on his ſide, and the Barons with ſome calm proviſoes mediate a peace, inſiſting only in general that the Articles of *Oxford* might be obſerved; But the King relying on his ſtrength, defies them as Traitors; which done, the Peoples two Generals, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, ſeeing no other means but to put it to a day, ſupply their want of ſtrength by their wit and diligence, and carefully and artificially placing their Battel (which was fought at the Town of *Lewis* in *Suſſex*) overthrew the Kings Army, took the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal*, and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Hereford*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen, both *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*.

And now having the King and Prince, and moſt of the Nobles, and a new confirmation of all, one would think the great Charter was out of danger, either of blotting or razing; eſpecially if we conſider the ſolemnities formerly uſed in the ratification of it, as *Daniel* excellently relates it in his Hiſtory p. 169.) The People knowing that no civil Promiſes, or verbal Profeſſions would hold in Kings raptured by Prerogative and devoted to Perjury to maintain their Tyranny, take a more Eccleſiaſtical and divine way of obligation, ſwearing to excommunicate all that ſhould be found Infringers of that Charter; when the People with the King, and all the great Nobility were aſſembled with all the Prelates, and the chief Biſhops in their reverent Ornaments (with burning Candles in their hands) to receive that dreadful ſentence; the King having one great Candle in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, it becomes not me being no Prieſt to hold this Candle, my heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony; and withall laid his hand ſpread on his Breaſt all the while the ſentence was pronouncing, which was *Autoritate omnipotentis Dei*, &c. which done, he cauſed the Charter of King *John* his Father to be read, and in the end having thrown away their Candles (which lay ſmoaking on the ground) they cryed out, *ſo let them that incur this ſentence be extinct and ſtink in Hell*: And the King with a loud voice ſaid, *As God help I will, as I am a man; a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Annointed, inviolably obſerve theſe things.* Never were Laws ſaith he (whoſe words ex-

preſs the thing moſt emphatically amongſt men (except thoſe holy Commandments from the Mount) eſtabliſhed with more Majeſty of Ceremony, to make them reverenced and reſpected, than theſe were; they wanted but Thunder and Lightning from Heaven, (which likewiſe if Prayers could have effected they would have had it) to make the ſentence ghaſtly, and hideous to the breakers of it; the greateſt ſecurity that could be given was an Oath (the only chain on Earth beſides love) to tye the Conſcience of a Man, and human ſociety together; which ſhould it not hold us, all the frame of Government muſt needs fall quite aſunder; yet ſo (almoſt a Miracle (though over common among our Kings, ſaith Mr. *Prin* out of *Mat. Paris p.* 8,9.) the Parliament being thus diſſolved (by a ſacred and moſt ſolemn concluſion) the King preſently ſtudies how to infringe all the premiſes, his Paraſites telling him the Pope could ſoon abſolve him for a ſum of Money, which afterwards the Pope did, and the King returned to his former oppreſſive courſes with more violence, and hardneſs; and taking advantage by the diviſion of the Barons, two Generals, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, the latter of which joyned with the young Prince *Edward* and Sir *Roger Mortimer* the Kings wicked Counſellor, a new and potent Army is raiſed by them, againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who had the King Priſoner) and thoſe which kept conſtant with him, for the Peoples Liberties; and he with the reſt of the Barons are overthrown; and immediately after a Parliament is called, and all theſe Laws and Decrees made void; and that Parliament held at *Oxford*, wherein all theſe Laws were firſt confirmed by him, called *Inſanum Parliamentum*, the mad Parliament; and all theſe Patents, Commiſſions or Inſtruments made to ratifie theſe Articles, were brought forth, and ſolemnly damned; and ſo bright and reſplendent did Prerogative break forth, that it was Proclaimed Treaſon in any but to ſpeak or mention any of theſe Grants with the leaſt approbation; and becauſe the City of *London* had engaged with the Barons and People as a principle Part of the whole, he would needs have burnt the City, had not ſome wiſe and potent Favourites interpoſed, and yet they could hardly diſſwade him from that barbarous and impolitick wickedneſs; but what he ſpared in their Houſes, that he got out of their Purſes, and made up all his loſſes with a thorough ſubjection of their Perſons, and ſuppreſſion of their Liberties. I need relate no more of this King, nor make obſerva-

ſervations, the Reader will be amazed at the repetition; he at leaſt twenty times gave his promiſe for the confirmation, and execution of theſe juſt decrees (contained in *Magna Charta*) and as many times was perjured, notwithſtanding all the ſolemnities, both Civil, Moral, and Eccleſiaſtical, uſed in the acts of ratification; this may learn us how to truſt the moſt poſitive Engagements of Princes, which croſs their own intereſt, and what to think of that word and promiſe they call Royal; this King reigned fifty ſix years, the longeſt of any King of *England*: But we have had too much of the ſtory of him, as he had too long a time to Rule, conſidering his temper and deſign. Its well if we can be wary for the future, and be more cautious then to truſt the moſt promiſing and inſinuating Princes with our Liberties and Priviledges, which can be no longer expected to be preſerved by them, then they may ſerve as ſcaffolds to advance them in the Throne of abſolute Majeſty: But no more of this King; never were there more hard ſtrivings and wreſtlings between Tyranny and Liberty with ſuch bad ſucceſs to the People; I only conclude his Reign with the Exhortation of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 146. *O put not your confidence in Princes*, ſurely Men of high degree are a lye.

King *Henry* is by this time laid in his Grave, and one would think *Magna Charta* buried with him; his Son *Edward*, who was his right-hand in his Wars againſt the Barons, and the principal Agent in their ruine, ſucceeds him in the Throne; and inſtead of leſſoning goes on and makes an higher improvement of that Royalty which his Father left him; having in his own perſon got the victory over the Peoples Liberties in his Fathers time, and having won or worn out the greateſt of thoſe which oppoſed, and being long experienced in the World, ſo ſecured and advanced the Prerogative, that as one ſaith, he ſeemed to be the firſt Conqueror after the Conqueror that got the domination of this State in ſo abſolute and eminent a manner, as by his Government appears; He laid unſupportable Taxes both on the Clergy and Laity, even unto Fifteens and halfs of their Eſtates. As for Tenths, that was comparatively accounted eaſy; the Barons and People for a long time durſt not move for removal of greivances, until that the King (being always in Wars in *France*, *Flanders*, *Wales* and *Scotland*, and ſo needed continually vaſt ſums of Money) called a Parliament wherein he demanded a great treaſure of Money from the People, that he might give them

somewhat in lieu of their expences, confirmed the two great Charters on the Petition of the Barons and People, (and so stopped their Mouths) and this he did as often as he had extraordinary occasions for Money; But (like all other Royal promises) they were performed by leasure. Never was Royalty more Majestick and Glorious then in this Kings Raign, and the People less able to oppose; he was always so watchful and eager to enlarge his own power; I shall end his Raign, also with what *Daniel* that impartial and witty Historian saith of him, He was more for the greatness of the Kingdom then the quiet of it; and never *King* before or since (*except the late Civil Wars*) shed so much Christian blood within this Isle of *Britain*, and was the cause of more in that following, and not one grain of benefit procured unto the People by all their expences on him, which was but to make themselves more perfect slaves.

The next King was *Edward* the Second his Son, who though more vicious than the Father, yet not more Tyrannical; he gave more advantage to the People through his leud life and unmartial nature, to seek the confirmation and establishment of *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws which were utterly suppress, and darkened in his Fathers raign. This Prince gave himself over to all wicked courses, and surrendred his Judgement, and the management of all affairs of State unto evil and corrupt Counsellors; especially to one *Peirce Gaveston*, who had both his Ear and Heart, unto whom he was so much endeared, that he ventured the loss of *Kingdom*, and all the Hearts of his Subjects for his company and preservation; and though the Barons had by often Petitions, and earnest solicitations prevailed with the King to banish him, yet he soon after sent for him home, and laid him more nigh his bosom then before; on this the Barons raise an Army against the King; and send him word, that unless he would observe the late Articles (which they had formerly by much ado got him to sign in Parliament) and put from him *Peirce Gaveston*, they would rise in Arms against him as a perjured Prince; the *King* (whom they found, was apt to be terrified) yields again to his banishment, with this clause, that if he were found again within the *Kingdom* he should be condemned to death as an Enemy of the State. All places were now dangerous to *Gaveston*; both *Ireland* (where he formerly was protected), and *France* also too hot for him; in this extremity, finding no security any where else, he again adventures on *England*, and puts himself once again into the Kings

bosom

boſom (a Sanctuary which he thought would not be polluted with blood) and there he is received with as great joy as ever Man could be; the Lords with more violence proſecute their ſuit to the *King* for delivering up, or removing him once more, but to no purpoſe; they therefore ſet forwards with an Army, lay ſiege to the Caſtle wherein *Gaveſton* was, took him, and notwithſtanding the *Kings* earneſt ſolicitation for his life, they condemned him to the Block, and took off his Head; this obſtacle being removed out of the way, the Lords having now the better end of the ſtaff make advantages of it for demanding the confirmation, and execution of all thoſe Articles formerly granted, threatning the *King*, that if he would not conſent to it, they would force him by a ſtrong hand; with this meſſage they had their Swords alſo drawn, and march towards *London*: A Parliament is called, where the *King*, after a ſubmiſſion by the Lords to him for that act done againſt *Gaveſton*, contrary to his conſent, and will, grants the Articles and pardon to them. But the *King* goes on his old way, adheres to wicked counſel (waving the grave advice of his Parliament) and is ruled by the two *Spencers*, who acted with mighty ſtrain of injuſtice, which cauſed the Lords again to take up Arms, and ſtand for their Liberties, but are, through the revolt of ſome, and the treachery of others overthrown at *Burton* upon *Trent*, and two and twenty Noblemen, the greateſt Peers in the Realm executed in ſeveral places for nothing but oppoſing his evil Counſellors: this was the firſt blood of Nobility that ever was ſhed in this manner in *England* ſince *William* the Firſt, which being ſo much, opened Veins for more to follow; and now the beam of power being turned, regality weighs down all. But by degrees, through the continuation of his ill government, whereby he daily loſt the Peoples hearts, the Lords get an Army, and take the King Priſoner, and by general conſent in Parliament depoſed him as a Tyrant, and elected his Son *Edward* the Third to ſucceed, and his Son was crowned before his Eyes. Thus ended his Reign, but not his life.

Poor *England* which had laboured ſo long and ſucceſſively under ſo many Tyrants, and had conteſted ſo long with Royalty for their dearly purchaſed Liberties, might now hopefully expect, at leaſt a dawning of Reformation, eſpecially when they had got ſo much power as to depoſe Authority; and began, as it were, on a new account; and the truth is, affairs were now promiſing, and

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diſtempers ſeemed to wear away with the former Governor; yet the condition of the Kingdom, had but a new face on it, and grievances were rather not aggravated or multiplied than any whit removed, and oppreſſions may be rather ſaid to be charged from one Shoulder to another then abeliſhed.

Prince *Edward* who ſucceeded, who was crowned in his fathers life, had obſervance enough to remember his fate, and was much warned by it, both to prevent and ſuppreſs inſurrections, knowing by experience the full ſtate of the Controverſie, and therefore began his Government very fairly, and with much applauſe; only to prevent factions, and ſidings, he privately cauſed his father, the depoſed *King* to be cruelly murthered, and ſo ſate more ſecurely, though with more guilt upon the Throne; his Reign was fifty years, and odd Months, the longeſt next *Henry* the Third; he ſpent moſt of his time in the Wars of *France* to regain his Title to that Crown, which the poor Subject felt in their Eſtates and Families, and it was a happineſs (ſay ſome) that he was ſo much abroad; for when ever he came home, as he wanted Money to ſupply his Expences, ſo the People got ground to urge their Priviledges, and *Magna Charta* was at leaſt twelve times ratified in this Kings Raign, and ſo often broken; yet becauſe he goes under the name of the beſt Prince that raigned ſo long, and ſo well, let the Reader take but an Inſtance or two concerning his engagements to perform the grand Charter. This King in the firſt Parliament made the fifteenth year of his Reign, had granted the enacting of divers wholſom and ſeaſonable Laws, which he willed and ingaged unto for him and his Heirs, that they ſhould *be firmly kept, and remain inviolable for ever*, for the ratification of *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws formerly enacted; and that all the Officers of State, as Chancellor, Treaſurer, Barons of the Exchequer, Judges, *&c.* ſhould at that preſent in Parliament, and for ever after, take a ſolemn Oath before their admiſſion to their Offices, to keep and maintain the point of the great Charter, and the Charter of the Forreſt, *&c.* But no ſooner was the Parliament diſſolved, but the very ſame year he publickly revoked theſe Statutes, pretending *that they were contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, and to his Prerogative and Rights Royal, &c.* wherefore we are willing (ſaith he) providently to revoke theſe things we have ſo improvidently done; *becauſe* (ſaith he) mark the diſſimulation of Princes (even in Parliaments) *We never really conſented to the making*

of

of such Statutes, but as then it behoved *Us*, *We dissembled in the Premises*, by Protestations of revocation, if indeed they should proceed to secure the dangers, which by denying the same we feared to come, with many more such passages; and yet this King is the Phœnix of our more antient Monarchs; but the Reader may still learn what the best of our Princes have been, and what weak assurances any ingagements from them are, where power is wanting from them and advantages present to them.

Another instance of his actings we may take up from the success of his first siege of *Tourney* in *France*; having laid on heavy and excessive taxes to maintain that war, and the people seeing no fruits of all promises for executing the Articles of *Magna Charta*, they refuse to pay any more, without more faithful performance of his Vows, and solemn engagements to them, whereby he wanting mony was fain to quit the place, and return for *England*, full of revengeful thoughts, and in much fury breaths out destruction to all the refusers; But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him publickly, but plainly, that he had oftentimes as well as his Father offered manifest violences to the Liberties of the *English* Nation, comprehended in that grand Charter, and if he expected Subsidies, from the people, he must more carefully maintain their priviledges so justly due. But the *King* vexed with such language, both storms against the Arch-bishop, and as much as possibly he then could, sought the ruine of all that had made any refusal of payment of these taxes, although he had not in any manner performed his own promises. Yet I will end his Reign, because he hath the name of a good *King*, (though as *Speed* saith, by the General vote of Historians, he committed many foul Errors in his Government) with a good act he did at the fiftieth year of his age (which he kept as his Jubilee) he called a Parliament, and there freely heard the grievances of the people, and redressed many, especially a Petition of the Commons against the doublings of Lawyers; he caused the pleas which were before in *French* to be made in *English*; *a necessary Law* (saith *Speed*) if it had been as carefully observed; especially if he had ordered (saith he) that the same should not have been written in *French*, *That the Subject might understand the Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth.* But all this is not for nothing; for as he imparted grace unto his people (saith the same Author) for so all acts of Justice are termed, when granted by Kings,

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ſo he took a care to repleniſh his own Purſe by it, that the poor Commons obtain not any thing which they pay not too dearly for.

Here ends the Life of the beſt reputed Prince; and yet you ſee wherein his excellency lay; the beſt happineſs the People had in his Raign, was, that they had more Engagements for their Liberties with more coſt, and the remembrances and ſenſe of the goodneſs of them more freſh and ſweet by the often repetition of them; but for execution or addition to them, they were as far to ſeek as in former times. And if it do poſſibly happen that in one Kings Raign either through the goodneſs of his Nature, or rather want of advantages, there be an intermiſſion of oppreſſions; (for that is the utmoſt to be expected) yet the next King will be ſure to make it up, and if they give the People a little breadth, its but that they may ſow for the next to reap, or as they do with Men on the Rack, let them down, and give them Cordials, and ſpititfulLiquors, that they may be the longer and more ſenſibly tormented; which was made good in the next Kings raign, *viz. Richard* the Second, who preſently daſhes and utterly nips theſe bloſſoms that ſprung out in the former Kings raign, devoting himſelf to all uncivil and lewd courſes, and to enable him the better unto it, lays on ſad and miſerable Taxes on the People without ſo much as a mention or hint of their Liberties, and as the parrallel of *Ed.* the Second, both lived and died; Its enough to decypher his raign by his end; for he was depoſed by the univerſal conſent of the People in Parliament as a tyrannical and cruel Governor, and not a good word ſpoken of him to commend him in his Government, and its pitty to aggravate his miſery after his death, and yet (as we ſay) *Seldom comes a better*; when one is cut off, another like the Hidra's head ſprings up in his place. *Henry* the fourth who overthrew him in Battle, and was made *King* in his ſtead (though by a wrong Title) at firſt promiſed the new modelling of Laws to the Peoples eaſe, and did, as in a complement (rather to ſecure his Tittle, then out of affection to the People, or ſenſe of his relation) redreſs many grievances, which were more groſs and leſs concerning the Common-wealth; and as he did ſtrive by theſe common acts to engage the People to him, ſo (as one that had continual ſence of guilt on him) he got the depoſed King to be barbarouſly murthered in the Caſtle of *Pomfret*, that no competition might endanger his Title by his life, He ſpent moſt of his raign

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in continual Wars about his Title, and was often oppoſed as both a Tyrant and Uſurper; but he ſtill got ground on both the Liberties and Laws formerly granted; yet not ſo ſenſibly as in the former Kings Reigns, that the People may be ſaid to have a little reſpite from the Violence and Height of Prerogative by him; but they may thank the Unjuſtneſs and Bitterneſs of his Title, for that he being more in fear of looſing it, than out of Love with the Exceſs of his Anceſtors. I ſhall only add one Story to conclude this Kings Reign, which is univerſally reported by moſt of our Hiſtorians, worth obſervation, becauſe it hath much of Ingenuity in it, and becauſe they were his dying Words; being caſt into an Apoplexy, and nigh his End, he cauſed his Crown to be placed by him on his Pillow, leaſt in the Extremity of his Sickneſs it might have been delivered to ſome other, who had better Right thereunto than he had; but when his Attendants, (through the Violence of his Diſtemper) ſuppoſed him to be dead, the young Prince of *Wales* ſeiſed on his Crown, whereat the King ſtarted up, raiſing himſelf on his Arms, demanded who it was that had ſo boldly taken away the Crown? the Prince anſwered that it was he, the King fell back into his Bed, and fetching a deep Sigh, and ſending forth many a penſive Groan, replies thus; My Son, what Right I had to this Crown, and how I have enjoyed it, God knows, and the World hath ſeen: But the Prince (ambitious enough of a Diadem) anſwered him thus; Comfort your ſelf in God (good Father) the Crown you have, and if you dye, I will have it, and keep it with my Sword, as you have done, and ſo he did ſoon after, maintaining his Fathers Injuſtice by his own.

And now comes up his Son *Henry* the Fifth as the next Heir, who though while a Prince was given to many wicked Practiſes, yet when a King became moderate, and hath better Commendation than moſt of his Anceſtors; the People had two Advantages and Comforts by him; firſt, that his Reign was ſhort, and that he was much imployed in the War with *France*, for regaining a Title to that Crown, which he accompliſhed, and ſo they were free of Civil Wars; though they had ſtill heavy Taxes, yet they thought it better to pay for maintaining War abroad than at Home; and truly, the People thought themſelves very happy in this Kings Reign, (though their Privileges were laid aſleep) that

they had little breathing time from Domeſtick and Civil Wars, and had hopes to regain by degrees a reviving of their Spirits.

But the next King, *Henry* the Sixth, makes up what was wanting of Tyranny and Oppreſſion in his Fathers Reign. He was crowned King about the eighth or ninth Month of his Age, and ſo had not preſent opportunity to ſhew his Royalty. Until he came to Age, the Kingdom was well governed by his three Uncles, *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*; who by their Wiſdom and Juſtice, kept up the flouriſhing Eſtate of the *Engliſh* Nation; but when his Years of Nonage were expired, and he came to weld the Scepter with his own Hands, (what as ſome favourably think out of Weakneſs, for he was no *Solomon*) all things went preſently out of order, and Prerogative breaks forth beyond bounds; which gave occaſion to *Edward* Duke of *York* to try Concluſions for his Title againſt the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and making uſe of the Diſcontents of the People through his evil Government, oppoſed him, and afterwards depoſed him, and reigned in his ſtead by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth, and ſo by Conqueſt he got the Title to run through the Houſe of *York*, having cut it off by his Sword from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, notwithſtanding actual Poſſeſſion of three Deſcents, many Overtures of War were yet between them; for *Henry* was not yet dead, though for the preſent outed, but as a dying Man ſtrove for Life, but being quite overthrown, was impriſoned, and afterwards murthered to ſecure the Title; there was in theſe two Kings Reign, but meerly for a Title, fought ten bloody Battles, beſides all leſſer Skirmiſhes, wherein many thouſands of Lords, Gentlemen and Commons were ſlain, and yet not one jot of Advantage gotten by it for the Peoples Liberties; it being the Miſery and Folly of the People, to venture all they have, to ſet up thoſe over them, who afterwards prove moſt Tyrannical, and to ſow Seeds of future Miſery, by ſpilling their Bloods for an uſurped Title.

In this Kings Reign, as in the former, the whole Land was miſerably rent by unnatural Diviſions againſt his Title and Government, and though neither or theſe two had a juſt Title (if we will begin from the Root) yet all the Blood of the Nation is thought too little to be ſpilt to maintain their Pretences; yet we may not reckon this King among the worſt, had it not fallen out

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that his Title must be kept up with Expence of so much Blood, and Ruine of the *English* Nation; yet in his last five years, he laid on such extraordinary Taxes, and changed the Form of Laws, that he lost the Love of all his Subjects.

For *Edward* the Fifth his Son, who succeeded him in Title, we need but mention him, for he had but the Name of a King (being an Infant) and his Reign may well be called an *Inter-regnum*, for e're he came to know what Government was, he was cruelly murthered with his Infant Brother, by his Uncle *Rich.* Duke of *Glocester*, who reigned both for him, and afterwards for himself, by the Name of *Richard* the Third, a bloody and cruel Man, rather a Monster than a Prince, his Name stinks in the English Dialect; the shortness of his Reign was the Happiness of the People; for after three years Usurpation, he was slain in the Field by the Earl of *Richmond*, who by his Valour, more than is Title, got the Crown, by the Name of *Henry* the Seventh; this was the best Act that was done by him, in easing the Kingdom of such a Viper. In his Reign (who is the first Root of our Kings since) the People had more Hopes than Benefits, and were rejoyced and made happy more by Expectations, than Enjoyments of any real Priviledge or Liberty. For though he took all the ways to secure his Title, by his Marriage to the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, yet many Stratagems were laid to disturb his Peace, which put him on Acts of Policy and Diligence (which he excellently demonstrated) to free and extricate himself out of Dangers and Designs; many sad Divisions were still in the Kingdom, all men were not pleased either with his Title or Government, and that they might but disturb him, or hazard his Crown, they made Stage-Kings, dress up pretty Lads in princely Robes, and carried them up and down the Kingdom as Puppets for the People to gaze on and admire; all this while King *Henry* had not time to advance his Prerogative, while he was but securing his Title; but after he had done that, and now began to look on himself as free from either foreign or home Competitors, and the Coast of State seeming clear from all thickning Weather, he thinks of redeeming what he had lost by Factions, and imploys his Wit for bringing down the heighth of the *English* Nation, and plucking down their Courage, and was especially (saith one) jealous over

his Nobility, as remembring how himself was set up; and how much more did this Humor encreate in him, after he had conflicted with such Idols and Counterfeits as *Lambert*, *Simnel* and *Perkin Warbeck?* the strangeness of which Dangers made him think nothing safe; and thinking that the Riches of the *English* occasioned their Rebellions, he took a Course to empty their Coffers into his; and the Plot whereby he meant to effect it, was by taking the Advantage of the Breach of Penal Laws, which he both found, and made for that purpose; his Instruments which for this Work were pickt, and qualified sufficiently, were Sir *Richard Empson*, and *Edmund Dudley*, Men learned in the Law, and of desperate and subtle Heads, and forward in executing the Kings Commands; these two attended by Troops of base Informers, Promoters, Catch-poles, Cheaters, Knights of the Post, *&c.* went up and down the Kingdom, cruelly polled and taxed all sorts of People, and prosecuted in every Shire the most deserving and generous Men, that the Kingdom in a little time was more beggar'd, than by most of the Civil Wars; and all this done by the Kings special Command and Countenance, that we may see what was the reason he began not sooner to play the *Rex*; want of Opportunity, and fear of loosing his Crown while he was advancing it; but the latter end of his Reign was too soon, and too long for such Actings. This King ends his Reign with the greatest Acts of Tyranny; he made himself a rich King by beggering his Subjects, after he had freed his own Person out of danger, he imploys all his Wits to enslave the *English*; the Fruits both of his Title and Tyranny, we have felt ever since, in these that followed him.

His Son *Henry*, the Eight of that Name, succeeds him; in his first beginnings he seemed to be tenderly affected to the Common-wealth, and redressed many Grievances, especially those which were laid on by his Father, and executed by *Empson* and *Dudley*, doing Justice on them for their Cruelty and Oppression. But those Affections were too good, and too violent to last long; the Sound of Drums and Trumpets soon quasht them, and many Encroachments grew on the Peoples Liberties; many tempestuous Storms and Controversies there were in this Kings Reign; but they were more Ecclesiastical than Civil, and no more dangerous and strong. In a Word, he was accounted a

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better Souldier than a Governour, and more fit for a General than a King to govern by juſt and unequal Laws; the beſt Act he did, was the Diſcovery of the Wickedneſs of the Clergy, and caſting off the Popes Supremacy, which yet he took to himſelf, and annexed it to his own Crown; as the moſt of his Reign was full of Controverſies and Tempeſts, ſo all Affairs were managed in a ranting and turbulent manner, not with that Gravity and Soberneſs as becomes civil and prudential Tranſactions; he was very Laſcivious, and delighted much in Variety and Changes of Laws, as Wives; he oftentimes much pleaſed himſelf to be in the Company, and was over-familiar with ſwaggering and looſe Fellows; and the People ever and anon found the Power of his Prerogative at home, as his Enemies did of his Sword abroad. *Edward* the Sixth, his only Son ſucceeds him, a Prince that was too good to live long, the Phœnix of *Engliſh* Kings, had he had time to proſecute his Intentions, and mature his Genius; but the Sun in him did ſhine too bright in the Morning; God gave *England* only the Repreſentation of a good King, but would not in Judgment let us be bleſt long with him; Religion began to revive, Liberty to bud forth, the People to peep out of their Graves of Slavery and Bondage, and to have their Blood freſh and bluſhing in their Cheeks; but all is preſently blaſted by his Death, and the People (who have ſeldom more than Hopes for their Comforts) are now fainting for fear; *England* is benighted, and hung with black: Queen *Mary*, that *Alecto*, and fury of Women, ſucceeds, and now both Souls and Bodies of the People are enſlaved, and nothing but Bone-fires made of the Fleſh and Bones of the beſt Chriſtians: But its too much to name her in the *Engliſh* Tongue; Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeds her, who being prepared for the Crown by ſuffering, came in a moſt ſeaſonable time, both for her ſelf and the People, who were made Fuel for the Flames of her Siſters Devotion.

And now *England* begins to flouriſh again, and to recover its Strength; many Inlargments were granted, both to the Conſciences, and Eſtates of the People; yet if we ſpeak impartially, we were kept further off *Rome* than Royalty; yet doubtleſs ſhe may be Chronicled for the beſt Princeſs, and her Reign the moſt even, and beſt managed, with more Fruits to the People than any of the former Kings, eſpecially if we conſider how long ſhe govern-

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ed this Nation; I end her Reign with this Character, That she was the best Queen that ever *England* had, and the Glory of her Sex to all Ages.

The *English* Line is now ended, we must go into *Scotland* to seek for a King, because a Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh was married to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*; but I will not question his Title.

King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and first of *England*, succeeded on the *English* Throne; a Prince that had many Advantages to set up Prerogative, which he improved; he was too timorous to act, but most subtle in Council and Designs, and no King did more insensibly and closely undermine the Liberties of *England* than himself; he gave us cause to remember from whence he came; but his peaceable Reign was the Rail to his Design, and did choak Suspition; we were brought by him very nigh *Rome* and *Spain*, and yet knew it not; he had an inveterate Hatred against Puritans, as he had a Fear of Papists, and made more of Bishops than ordinary, by remembrance of the *Scots* Presbytery; he had as much of Royalty in his Eye as any Prince could have, but had not so much Courage to prosecute it; the Puritan always lay in his Spleen, the Papist on his Lungs, that he durst not, that he could not breath so clearly and strongly against them; but the Bishops lay in his Heart. I will not rip up his personal Failings after his Death; he was the most profane King for Oaths and Blasphemies that *England* had besides, *&c.* He now grows old, and was judged only fit to lay the Plot, but not no execute it; the Design being now ripe, and his Person and Life the only Obstacle and *Remora* to the next Instrument, he is conveyed away suddenly into another World, as his Son *Henry* was, because thought unsutable to the Plot, it being too long to wait, until Nature and Distemper had done the Deed.

We are now come to *Charles* the First, the perfect *Idea* of all the rest, and the most zealous Prosecutor of the Designs of all his Ancestors, who, if Divine Providence had not miraculously prevented, had accomplished the utmost of their Intentions, and for ever darkned the Glory of the *English* Sun; so much I must say of him, that he got more Wisdom by Action, than could possibly be expected by his Nature; Experience that teacheth Fools, made him wise; he endeavoured to act what others designed; he

he diſſembled as long as he could, and uſed all Parties to the utmoſt; but his Zeal and Hardineſs brought him to his Death. He needed no Phyſick for his Body, had he remembred his Soul. But what need I mention him? he would have been what other Kings are, and endeavoured to attain what others would be; he lived an Enemy to the Common-wealth, and dyed a Martyr to Prerogative.

Thus you have ſeen a faithful Repreſentation of the *Norman* Race, under which we have groaned for about ſix hundred years; the firſt Title made only by the Invaſion and Conqueſt of a Stranger and Baſtard, continued by Uſurpation and Tyranny, that take away but two or three Perſons out of the Liſt (and yet theſe bad enough if we conſider all things) and all this while *England* neither had a right Heir, or good King to govern it; and yet by Deluſion and Deceit, we muſt be bound to maintain that Title as Sacred and Divine, which in the beginning was extorted, and uſurping, as if gray Hairs could add Reverence to Injuſtice. For my part, as I do not give much to that Monkiſh Prophecy from *Henry* the Seventh's Times; *Mars, Puer, Alecto, Virgo, Vulpes, Leo, Nullus* (yet I wonder how the Devil could foreſee ſo far off, and muſt needs ſay, that it hath yet been literally fulfilled, both in the Characters of the Perſons of moſt of our Kings.

Can we think (and retain our Memories and Reaſons) that *Charles* the Second can forget *Charles* the Firſt? that Cuſtom and Education can eaſily be altered? that the true and real Engagers with him and his Father, ſhall be raiſed out of his Heart, or that he can heartily love his Oppoſers, but as he may make uſe of them? or that when ſome Banks and Rocks are out of the way, the Waters and Floods of Tyranny will not run in its wonted Channel? Can reaſon think or dream, that Breach of Coronation Oaths will not eat out Sincerity? or that Law and Liberty can flouriſh in that State where boundleſs Prerogative *is* the Aſcendant? or is that Perſon fit to be the *Medium* of Peace, and the Glory of this Nation, who was the conjunct Inſtrument of the War, and the Survivor both of the War and Peace? a Perſon that durſt not ſtay in his own Nation to plead his Right becauſe of his Guilt, whoſe Youth and Wilfulneſs is moſt unapt for the ſetling the Storms and Tempeſts of a diſtracted Nation

on. It was said of *Tiberius Cæsar* in a Satyrical Expreſſion, yet it proved true.

Sueton. lib. 3. c. 52.

Regnabit Sanguine multo,
Ad Regnum quiſquis venit Sanguine multo.

Who firſt exil'd, is after Crown'd;
His Reign with Blood will much abound.

Certain it is, that never any Prince, ſo long exterminated as he had been, was reſtored with more Alacrity and Unanimity of the People, with greater Applauſe and Expectations, and with louder Acclamations of Joy and Triumph. For all which, never did any Prince ſo well requite the Kindneſs of his doting Subjects, as our ſecond *Charles*, grateful to the higheſt Degree, in yielding, and poorly ſubmitting to the Counſels of all thoſe that ſought to betray their Properties and Liberties to *French* Slavery and Arbitrary Power, and give up their Religion firſt to the Subjection, and then to the Revenge of *Rome*.

For when our Second *Charles* returned into *England*, true it was, that the Ballance of *Europe* was on the *French* ſide, and that by the Aſſiſtance of *Cromwel*, who for his own Ends, had ſacrificed the Intereſt of the Nation, by joyning with the ſtronger Side, to ſuppreſs the Power of *Spain*, which it became him to have ſupported. But when *Charles* the Second returned, all the World knows that he was followed with the Courtſhips of all the Nations abroad, to beſpeak the Friendſhip of a Prince, who, beſides his other Greatneſs, was much more conſiderable, by his being re-eſtabliſhed with the Love of his People. *France* ſaw this, and therefore to put the King of *England* into ſuch a Condition that he might not be able to give any Oppoſition to his Deſigns upon *Flanders*, for which he had an inſatiable Paſſion, reſolved to commit a Rape upon the Lady, which he could not otherwiſe win to his Embraces: A thing that he knew would not be eaſie to accompliſh, ſo long as *Holland* and *England* were agreed, and reſolved to reſcue her, whenever they reſolved to cry out to them for Help. To which end, the *French* King gave thoſe *Philters* to the King of *England*, which contrary to the Nature of Love-potions, that when they have done working, cauſe an Averſion

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for them that gave them, made our *Charles* the Second so in love ever afterward with the Person that gives them, as made him ever afterwards dote upon the King of *France*'s Charms and Counsels till he had almost ruin'd the Nation, only leaving a little for his Brother to consummate; for whom he had such an Affection, so entire and baneful to this Nation, that he might be only said to Reign while his Brother Rul'd.

Well then, to dissolve this Union between the *Dutch* and *England*, we must be set together by the Ears. To this purpose *Amboyna* and the Fishery were talked of here, and the preservation of Trade, and the Freedom of the Sea were disputed in *Holland*, and there being combustible Matter enough on both sides, it took fire in a little time. What vast Supplies were furnished out by the Subject for defraying that War, is too well known; and yet after all, saving one brisk Engagement, ill managed, though with some Loss to the *Dutch*, at length no Fleet set out, and the choicest of the Royal Navy, either burnt or taken in their Harbours to save Charges. While the *French*, during that War, joyned themselves in Assistance with the *Dutch* against Us, and yet by the Credit he had with the Queen-Mother, so far deluded *Charles* the Second, that upon Assurance that the *Hollanders* would have no Fleet out at Sea that Year, no more than himself, forbore to make ready, and so incurred that shamful Disgrace at *Chatham*, the like to which the *English* never suffered since they claimed the Dominion of the Sea. And which was more, as he had been beholding to the King of *France*, for the Ignominy he had suffered, so was he glad to receive the Peace from his Favour, which was concluded at *Breda*.

And now the King of *England* was at leisure to observe how the *French* King had taken his Opportunity, while we were embroyled and weakned by the *Dutch*, though with the Violation of the most Sacred Oaths and Treaties, and had invaded and taked a great Part of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which had been always considered as the Natural Frontier of *England*.

This alaramed the King of *England* to that Degree, that he entered into a Defensive League with *Holland*, and made another for opposing the farther Progress of the *French* in the *Spanish Netherlands*. The *Swede* also shortly after made a Third in the Confederacy; from whence it was called the Triple Alliance.

But in a very ſhort time, theſe Counſels, which had taken effect ſo much to the King of *Englands* Honour, and the general Satisfaction of the Nation, were all changed of a ſudden. For the King of *France* being ſtopt in his Career by the Triple League, and by the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, ſoon after concluded, though for a while he diſſembled his Diſ-ſatisfaction, yet he reſolved to untie the Triple Knot, whatever it coſt him. To which purpoſe, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* was ſent over, as one who would be a welcome Gueſt to her Brother, and whoſe Charms and Dexterity joyned with her other Advantages, would give her ſuch an Aſcendant over him, as could not fail of Succeſs. And indeed ſhe quitted her ſelf ſo well of the Commiſſion, a double lay'd Foundation for a new ſtrict Alliance with *France*, quite contrary to that wherein the King of *England* had been ſo lately engaged; which made him ſoon looke upon by the Confederates as an Apoſtate from the common Intereſt. And this inviſible *French* League was ſtruck up with *France* to that height of Dearneſs and Affection, as if upon the enſuing ſudden Death of the Princeſs, the Reconciliation with *France* had not been to have been celebrated with a leſs Sacrifice than that of the Blood Royal of *England*.

But this *French* League being made in the Dark, and as yet undiſcovered, the Parliament ſoon after meeting, were ſooth'd up by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, under pretence of Great Advantages, to give the King in three Bills, no leſs than two Millions and a half, as it were to fix the Triple League with a Triple Supply. But the Parliament having given the Money, and conſequently being prorogued, all Applications to forreign Miniſters to enter into the Warrants of the Peace of *Aix la Chappel* clear'd, and thoſe that deſired to be admitted were refuſed, inſomuch that the Emperor himſelf was turned off with idle Excuſes and blind Reaſons. Upon which, followed a ſecond War with the *Dutch*, treacherouſly began by *H.* according to his Inſtructions from Court, at a time when the *Dutch* leaſt ſuſpected any ſuch Thing, as relying upon the Faith of their Treaties and Alliances with Us; and as unfortunately carried on to the Loſs of the *Engliſh*; not ſo much through the Cowardiſe of the Commanders, as by our unlucky Conjunction with the *French*, whoſe Buſineſs it was not to do us any Good, but to ſee

us

us batter one another, to ſound our Seas, to ſpy our Ports, to learn our Building, and contemplate our manner of Fighting, to conſume ours, and preſerve his own, Navy.

However, the King having waſted all thoſe vaſt Sums, which had been already given him, of which, there appeared, to the diſcerning part of the Kingdom, but a very bad account to be given, wanted a new Supply, and then the Parliament, who were ſeldom ſummoned for any other Purpoſe, had leave to ſit again; and in exchange of a Bill againſt the Papiſts, voted him one Million two hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds. So eaſily was the King induced to exhauſt and ſquander away the Treaſure of his Proteſtant Subjects, and to make them pay for their own Deſigned Deſtruction, and ſupply thoſe with continual Sums of Money, who had undertaken for the Change of their Religion and Government.

Had it been twice as much more, it would have gone all the ſame way as the other had done, in Expenſes of Pleaſure and ſecret Services; for the Sea-men were fed with a Bit and a Knock. But by this time the *French* having raiſed the Indignation of the *Engliſh*, by their ill Behaviour at Sea in all the Engagements, and perceiving their pernicious Counſels tended to nothing elſe, but by frequent Levies of Men and Money, to exhauſt and weaken the Kingdom, and by their Conjunction with us, to raiſe a rational Jealouſie of Popery and *French* Government, till it ſhould inſenſibly devolve into both, by inclination or neceſſity; began to be for an honorable Peace with the States, which when it could be no longer reſiſted, was concluded.

And thus was the *French* King, who made all his Wars, as he wrote to the Pope, for the Extirpation of Hereſie, and a mortal Enemy of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, not only aſſiſted by the Councils of the Defender of the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Faith, but alſo with his Forces and his Arms, as appeared by his numerous Complements of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, always in the *French* Army, as often as need required, ſtill recruited and re-inforced, and by their Valour, as often prejudicial to the Allies of the King of *England*, againſt whom they were to fight, though he at the ſame time in Peace with them. Beſides that, the King of *England*'s Magazines were dayly emptied to furniſh the *French* with all ſorts of Ammunition; of which, the following Note con-

tains but a ſmall parcel, in compariſon of what was dayly conveighed away, under colour of Cockets for *Jerſey*.

Lead Shot, 21 Tuns.
Gun-powder 7134 Barrels.
Iron Shot, 18 Tun.
Match, 88 Tun.
Iron Ordnance, 441.
Carriages, Bandeliers, Pikes, *&c.* proportionable.
Granadoes without number, ſhipt off under the colour of unwrought Iron.

And thus was the *French* King gratified for undoing the Nation by Sea, by contributing all the King could wrap and rend of Men and Ammunition at Land, to make the Kingdoms, and the Proteſtant Religion's Enemy more potent and formidable in his Enterprizes againſt both.

Nor will Story forget the frequent Prorogations of the Parliaments in this Reign. And indeed the Parliament was never ſummoned to ſit, but when the Court wanted new Supplies for what had been extravagantly ſpent, and when they began to enquire into the Miſcarriages of the Government always diſmiſſed.

More particularly remarkable was one Prorogation, from the 22*d.* of *November* 75. to the 15*th.* of *February* 76. and then holding it after ſuch a Diſmiſſion: there being no Record of any ſuch thing done ſince the being of Parliaments in *England*, and the whole Reaſon of the Law, as well as the Practice and Cuſtom of holding Parliaments being quite againſt it.

Nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Buckingham*, for arguing by all the Laws of Parliament, and with great ſtrength of Reaſon, that the Prorogation was null, and conſequently, that the Parliament was diſſolved, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, for upholding the ſame Argument, were ſent to the Tower, under the Notion of Contempt. And thus a Prorogation without Preſident, was warranted by a Preſident without Example.

Neither

Neither will Story forget the Coming of the Duke of *Crequi*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, and Monſieur *Barillon* into *England*, and their attending the King at *New-Market*, and ſo to *London*, and their being ſent away again juſt upon the Parliaments being ready to ſit again. The Matters that paſſed between the *French* Lords and the King, were, as it was ſaid, for a Confirmation of continuing the Kings Subjects in the Service of *France*: An Abolition of all Claims and Demands from the Subjects of *France*, upon account of all Prizes made of the *Engliſh*, from the Year 74. and for the future from that Day. And a Demand of a farther Supply of *French* Money. However it were, ſo ſoon as the *French* Lords were departed the Land, and not before the Parliament met. And the firſt Meſſage from the Court was for ſix hundred thouſand pounds, for that the King could neither ſpeak nor act without it, as the Secretary then declared. But the Commons inſiſting that an Alliance might be made with the *Dutch*, and that the King would recall his Subjects out of the *French* Service, were not only checkt by the King, but put off by three Adjournals, contrary to the Uſage of Parliaments, to the end the *French* King might have the more leiſure to compleat his Deſign upon *Flanders*, before the Grand Council of the Nation ſhould have the Opportunity of interpoſing their Advice with the King to prevent it.

Nor will Story forget, how that upon the Diſcovery of a Horrid Plot, even againſt the Perſon of the King himſelf, and for the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and eſtabliſhed Government of the Nation, and that the King well knew by *Coleman's* Letters, and other ſignificant Evidence, how deeply his Brother and the *French* King were combined therein, yet he ſate down patiently, ſuffered the Diſcoverers of the Plot to be diſcouraged and diſcountenanced, and the Plot it ſelf to be cry'd down and ridicul'd for an Impoſture, while Sham-plots were ſet up by the Conſpirators themſelves, to cut off the moſt powerful Oppoſers of the King of *France's* Deſigns and the Popiſh Intereſts.

By all which Tranſactions it is apparent, that the whole Reign of this Prince was only a Combination of two great Monarchs, to reduce the *Engliſh* Dominions under the Slavery of *France*, and Juriſdiction of the Spiritual Tyranny of *Rome*; or at leaſt, to make it more eaſie for a Popiſh Succeſſor.

For

For to what other Deſign elſe could tend the ſetting up a ſtanding Army, contrary to the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Kingdom; the abandonning of a Nephew in *Holland* for ſo many years, in Compliance with the *French* Deſigns upon *Flanders* and the United Provinces; the ſuffering of *French* Depredations and Cruelties exerciſed at Sea upon the *Engliſh*, to the ſpoiling the Trade, and impoveriſhing the Wealth of the Nation; the patiently brooking the Treacheries and Inſolencies of the *French*, more eſpecially relating to the Kings Affairs. The taking away of the Charters of all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, to fruſtrate the due Elections of Parliament Men. The countenancing the Irregularities and unjuſt Proceedings of the Courts of *Weſtminſter*. And laſtly, the diligent Search all over the Kingdom, for Men of Arbitrary Principles, in order to promote them to publick Commiſſions and Imployments, but diſgracing and diſplacing ſuch as durſt in ſuch an univerſal Depravation, be faithful to their Truſts, which cauſed a Defection of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, both Male and Female, to the Popiſh Religion, though more for their Temporal Safety, than in order to their Salvation.

But *Charles* the Father is gone to his Place, and ſo is *Charles* the Son. And as for the Brother *James* the Second, he has withdrawn himſelf into *France*, after a ſhort, but violent Reign, according to the Maxim of *Nullum Violentum eſt Diuturnum*.

'Tis true, when he ſtept into the Throne, he thought himſelf pretty ſure, as well he might, having in his Brothers time got all the Keys, the ſtrong Holds of the Kingdom, and the Navy into his Hands, beſides a conſiderable ſtanding Army, which he often exerciſed upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, to terrifie the Nation. He had taken away all the Charters of all the Cities and Towns Corporate of the Nation, to have both them, and any Parliament that he ſhould call, to do his own and the Popes Buſineſs. However, notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, he thought it his moſt proper way to enter like a Lamb, rather than like a Wolf. And to that purpoſe he publiſhes a Declaration, where he ſolemnly promiſed not to invade the Properties of any one of his Subjects, and to protect the Profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Church of *England*, in the peaceful Exerciſe of their Divine Worſhip, and the unmoleſted Enjoyment of their Spiritu-

al

al and Temporal Rights. Yet in compliance with that grand Popiſh Maxim, *That there is no Faith to be kept with Heretick*s, no ſooner did he feel himſelf warm in his Seat, but he erected an Arbitrary Eccleſiaſtical Court, to inquire into all Offences of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, from the Higheſt to the Loweſt; and that their Commiſſion might be effectual, they had an unlimitted Power to call Offences whatever they deemed to be ſo. It being therefore an Offence for the Biſhop of *London*, upon the Kings Letter, not to ſilence Doctor *Sharp*, for uttering certain Expreſſions in a Sermon, which diſpleaſed the Court, this Court therefore fell upon him, and ſuſpended him from the Exerciſe of his Epiſcopal Function.

And becauſe they might not want a ſhare to intangle the whole Clergy of the Nation, a Declaration was put forth, and commanded to be read in all the Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, for the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws againſt Papiſts, which they that refuſed to read, were liable to the Cenſure and Sentence of this ſame new erected Arbitrary Court.

It was expected that the Biſhops ſhould have been the firſt to promote the diſtributing and publiſhing this Declaration in their ſeveral Dioceſſes. But inſtead of ſo doing, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſix Suffragan Biſhops preſented their Anſwer in an humble and ſhort Petition, That in regard his Majeſties Command for their diſtributing and publiſhing his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, was grounded upon a Diſpenſing Power, declared illegal by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, they humbly beſought his Majeſty not to inſiſt upon it. For which, the Arch-Biſhop, and ſix more Biſhops were committed to the *Tower*, and afterwards arraigned at the Kings-Bench-Bar, to the eternal Infamy of the Proſecutors. And thus far the Declaration was broke, in reference to the maintaining the Rights of the Church of *England*. In the next place, becauſe the Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford* refuſed a *Mandamus* for admitting a Papiſt into their Society, all the Fellows of that Houſe were not only outed of their Properties as Fellows of that Colledge, but ſo ſeverely uſed, as to be denied all means of Subſiſtence and getting daily Bread. And this was an Invaſion upon the Property and Poſſeſſions of the Subject, contrary to the ſolemn Engagements of the foremention*e*d Declaration.

And

And because the King was afraid, that, growing into years, he might not live to compleat the great Work he had begun, the next Attempt was to pretend an Heir of the Queens Body; and by a borrow'd Impostor, to have defeated the right Heir to the Crown.

By which indirect Proceedings, the King had so alienated the Affections of his People from him, that when his Highness the Prince of *Orange* came in to the Re-save of this distressed Nation, the King found himself so generally deserted by his People, that he lookt upon it as his best way to withdraw himself out of the Kingdom.

Since then we have given our Thanks to Heaven forth is happy Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, it behoves us to be the more careful, that we may not be said to dally with Divine Mercy, how we involve our selves again in those fatal Interests, that were so near the procuring our Destruction.

Thus expired the unfortunate Reign of *James* the Second, a Misfortune incident to the Second of a Name in *England*, after he had sway'd the Scepter the best part of four years; and it is credibly reported, that to excuse the Miscarriages of his short Government, he should declare to some that followed him, that he had been ruined by a furious Woman, and a hot headed Fool. A certain Testimony from his own Lips, that he was not a Person of that Resolution which his Flatterers extoll'd him to be.

A POLITICAL
CATECHISM:

Serving to instruct those that have made the Protestation concerning the Power and Priviledges of Parliament; taken out of his Majesties Answer to the Nineteen Propositions.

QUESTION I.

HOW *many simple kinds are there of Civil Government of States and Common-wealths?*

Answer. **There are three kinds of Government among Men; Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy,** page 17.

Qu. 2. *Are there any of these simple Forms perfect?*

Ans. **All these have their particular Conveniences and Inconveniences,** page 17.

Observ. 1. Experience hath taught Men every where to acknowledge this, and accordingly there never was long (if at all) continued any of these Forms exactly simple; though some have more seemed such than others. Also in all Mixtures there is commonly some one of these Forms more conspicuous than the rest, from whence such a particular Government hath its Denomination.

Q. 3. *Is the State of* England *governed by any one of these kinds simply?*

A. **The Experience and Wisdom of your Ancestors hath moulded this [Government] out of a mixture of these,** page 18.

Q. 4. *What kind of Government then is that of the State of* England?

A. **Regulated Monarchy,** page 18.

Obſerv. 1. If this Government be a Mixture of all theſe, and a Regulated Monarchy; then it is a fond thing with us to talk of an Abſolute Monarchy, and what an Abſolute Monarchy is, or may do. And it is only the Language of Flattery that holds ſuch Diſcourſes.

2. It needs not be accounted a Soleciſm (as ſome would perſwade us) to ſpeak of free Subjects in a Monarchy, ſuch a Monarchy as ours is.

3. If this Government be a Mixture of all three, then the Houſe of Commons, the Repreſentative Body of the People, muſt needs be allowed a ſhare in Government (ſome at leaſt) which yet is denied, *Page* 19.

4. If this Government be a Mixture, then is not the Government according to theſe Laws, ſolely truſted to the King, as ſeems to be affirmed, *Page* 18.

5. If the Government be regulated, why do Men tell us that the King is above all Law? for it is by Laws that he is regulated.

6. If the King be regulated by the Law, then is the King accountable to the Law, and not to God only, as Men would make us believe.

7. If the Monarchy or Regal Authority it ſelf be regulated, then whatſoever is done by the King, undeniably without, and beyond the Limits of that Regulation, is not *Regal Authority*. And therefore

8. To reſiſt the notorious Tranſgreſſions of that Regulation, is no reſiſting of *Regal Authority*. And

9. It is ſo far from being a Reſiſting of the Ordinance of God, that it is not ſo much as Reſiſting the Ordinance of Man.

Q. 5. *By whom was this Government framed in this ſort? or who is to be accounted the immediate Efficient of the Conſtitution thereof?*

A. The

A. **The Experience and Wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this,** page 18.

Observe. 1. If our Ancestors were the Moulders of this Government, then the King hath not his Power, solely or immediately, by Divine Right.

2. Much less hath he his Power or Authority by Right of Conquest.

3. But the immediate Original of it was from the People. And if so, Then ——

4. In questioned Cases, the King is to produce his Grant (for he hath no more than what was granted) and not the People to shew a Reservation; for all is presumed to be reserved, which cannot be proved to be granted away.

Q. 6. *Is this regulated and mixt Monarchy as good as an Absolute Monarchy, or better, or worse?*

A. **This excellent Constitution of this Kingdom (the Ancient, Equal, Happy, Well-poised, and never enough commended Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom,** page 17.) **hath made this Nation so many years both Famous and Happy, and to a great Degree of Envy,** page 20.

Q. 7. *How comes it to pass that this Constitution is so excellent?*

A. **The Experience and Wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this, out of a Mixture of these, as to give to this Kingdom (as far as Humane Prudence can provide) the Conveniences of all three, without the Inconvenience of any one,** page 18.

Observe. 1. Then those that would place in the King an Absolute and Arbitrary Power to do what he list, are destructive to the Nations Happiness, and Enemies to the Kingdom.

2. If this Mixture cause this Happiness, then it is not the Greatness of the Kings Power over his People, but the Restraint of that Power that hath made this Kingdom Famous and Happy, for other Kings have Power as large, but not so much restrained; which largness of their Power, hath raised those Kings indeed, (but not their Kingdoms) to a great degree of Envy.

3. Hence we discern, that it is possible for Kings to envy their Peoples Happiness, because the largeness of the Peoples Happi-

neſs depends much upon the Reſtraint of the Kings Exorbitant Power.

4. If this Mixture and well-poiſed Conſtitution have raiſed this Kingdom to ſo great a Degree of Envy, no marvel if Jeſuitical Councils be active to overthrow this happy Conſtitution.

Q. 8. *What is the Conveniency or Good of Monarchy?*

A. **The uniting of a Nation under one Head, to reſiſt Invaſion from abroad, and Inſurrection at home,** page 18.

Obſerv. 1. What pernicious Counſellors are they then to a Monarch, that adviſe him to bring in from abroad *German* Horſe, or an *Iriſh* Army, or a Fleet of *Danes* to invade this Kingdom; or to imploy *Dunkirk* Ships to ſeize upon his Merchants, which is ſo formally contrary to the proper Good or End of Monarchy it ſelf?

2. Or are they better or worſe that adviſe him to Authorize, or even permit any in his Name to Plunder, Rob, Spoil or Impriſon any of his Subjects, whom they have found peaceably in their Houſes, or at work in the Fields, and have not diſobeyed any legal Command of his?

Q. 9. *What is the Ill of Abſolute Monarchy? or the Inconvenience to which it is liable?*

A. **The Ill of Abſolute Monarchy, is Tyranny,** page 18.

Obſerv. 1. Therefore the more Abſolute a Monarch is, the more prone to be a Tyrant.

2. Therefore alſo it is ſafer to reſtrain the King of ſome Power to do us good, than to grant him too much opportunity to do us hurt; and the Danger is greater to the People in enlarging the Kings Power, then in reſtraining it ſomewhat.

Q. 10. *What is the Good or Conveniency of Ariſtocracy?*

A. **The good of Ariſtocracy is the Conjunction of Councils in the ableſt Perſons of a State for publick Benefit,** page 18.

Obſerv. 1. Then ſurely it is for the *Publick Benefit* of the State, that this *Conjunction of Councils* in Parliament ſhould be made uſe of more than once in thirteen or fourteen years; and the Law for a Triennial Parliament (if there were not others before for the holding of a Parliament yearly) was a moſt neceſſary Law, as alſo that it ſhould not be diſſolved for fifty days.

2. It

2. It was not then intended in the *Conſtitution of this Government*, that the King in the greateſt Matters of Importance for publick Benefit, ſhould only hear what they ſay, and then follow it, or reject it meerly at his own *Pleaſure*; for this may be as well done in an Abſolute Monarchy.

3. Neither is it agreeable to the *Conſtitution* of this Kingdom, to withdraw the King from affording his Preſence to his great Council of State, that ſo the private Counſels of private Men may be preferred before thoſe whom the Law and the *Conſtitution of the Kingdom*, counts the ableſt to judge of Publick Benefit.

Q. 11. *What is the Ill of Ariſtocracy, or the Inconvenience to which it is liable.*

A. **The ill of Ariſtocracy is Faction and Diviſion,** page 18.

Obſerv. What ſhall we ſay then to thoſe private Counſellors that have abuſed the King, by perſwading him firſt to withdraw himſelf from his Parliament, and then to call away the Members of both Houſes, when yet without the Conſent of both Houſes, this Parliament cannot be adjourned to another place, much leſs diſſolved? Yet if all would have come away at call, had it not been diſſolved for want of legal Numbers remaining? And what greater Faction or Diviſion can there be, than ſuch as divide between King and Parliament, and between the Houſe and their Members? Are not they moſt pernicious Inſtruments, that make Monarchy it ſelf (whoſe end is to unite, as was ſaid before) thus far Guilty of *Faction* and *Diviſion*?

Q. 12. *What is the Good or Conveniency of Democracy?*

A. **The good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and Induſtry which Liberty begets,** page 18.

Obſerv. 1. Then the more Liberties are encroached upon, the more the People will be rendred cowardly and poor, as may be plain enough ſeen by comparing the Valour and Riches of this Nation in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days, with what hath been of late Days.

2. The King himſelf, when once his Subjects, by having loſt their Liberties, ſhall loſe withal their Courages, will prove the greateſt Looſer; for then his Kingdom will be an eaſie Prey to any Foreign Invader, or even to a Home-bred Uſurper, that could gather any ſudden Strength, and would promiſe more Liberty.

Q. 13. *What*

Q. 13. *What is the Ill of Democracy, or the Inconvenience to which it is liable?*

A. **The Ills of Democracy, are Tumults, Violence and Licentiousness,** page 18.

Observ. If these be the Evils for which the Peoples Liberty ought to be restrained by the Mixture in this Government, then the Restraint of the Liberty should be measured according to the Exigency of these Evils, and so much Liberty need only be restrained, as is sufficient for the Prevention of these Evils.

Q. 14. *What is the Mixture of this Kingdom, which gives it the Conveniences of all the three forementioned kinds of Government, without the Inconveniences of any one.*

A. **In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People: All having free Votes, and particular priviledges,** page 18.

Observ. 1. Whereas there hath been great question made by many what is meant by the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, mentioned in the Protestation, which hath been so generally made throughout the Kingdom: There is no reason to doubt but those things which the King grants afterward, to be the particular Priviledge of each House, and of both, are their certain Priviledges according to Law, and the Constitution of the Kingdom; and to the maintaining of them, every one that hath made the Protestation is most strictly bound, without peradventure or shift.

2. That the Priviledges which the King challenges to himself, are to be yielded to, only so far forth as they are consistent with the acknowledged Priviledges of the two Houses; because the Monarchy being acknowledged to be a regulated Monarchy, and the Government mixt of Aristocracy and Democracy, as well as Monarchy; it is the Priviledges of the two Houses of Parliament that makes the Mixture, and so they must regulate and interpret the Priviledges of the King, and not the Priviledges of the King regulate or interpret theirs, save only to the maintaining still the Regal Dignity, and the Succession according to Laws.

Q. 15. *What Priviledges doth the King challenge to himself?*

A. **The Government according to these Laws, is trusted to the King: Power of Treaties of War and Peace,**

of

of making Peers, of chooſing Officers, and Councellors for State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Caſtles; giving Commiſſions for raiſing Men to make War abroad, or to prevent or provide againſt Invaſions and Inſurrections at home, Benefit of Confiſcations, Power of Pardoning, and ſome other of like kind are placed in the King, page 18.

Obſerv. 1. That all theſe are ordinarily in the King, Experience and Cuſtom teaches, even thoſe that know not the Law, by reading, but by what hath been noted before, and follows after, it is to be underſtood only ſo, as not to prejudice the Priviledges of the Houſes of Parliament, eſpecially in Caſes of Neceſſity (of which hereafter.) Alſo———

2. It is acknowledged here, that the Government, Truſted, is to be according to the Laws, and ſo all theſe things are not abſolutely in the King; as for inſtance, *Pardons*, the Law denies Power of Pardoning wilful Murther; and Benefit of ſome Confiſcations belongs to ſome private Lords of Mannors.

3. If Government only according to Law be truſted to the King, then to reſiſt notorious illegal Violences is not to reſiſt the Kings Authority.

Q. 16. *For what end is this Authority truſted to the King, and placed in him?*

A. For our Subjects ſake theſe Rights are inveſted in us, page 17. The Prince may not make uſe of this high and perpetual power to the hurt of thoſe for whoſe Good he hath it, page 19.

Obſerv. 1. Then the Good of the Subjects is ever to be preferred before the Monarchical Greatneſs of the King (the End is ever more conſiderable than the Means) *Salus Populi is Suprema Lex.*

2. Whoſoever counſels the King to any thing againſt the Good of his Subjects, is the Kings Enemy as well as the Common-wealths, by attempting to turn him from that which is the end of his Authority.

Q. 17. *To what purpoſe eſpecially are the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons and the Houſe of Peers?*

A. That the Prince may not make uſe of his high and perpetual power to the hurt of thoſe, for whoſe Good he hath it; and make uſe of the Name of publick Neceſ-

ſity,

ſity, for the Gain of his private Favorites and Followers, &c. page 19.

Obſerv. 1. The Law then ſuppoſes, that ſuch Caſes may fall out, though it then charge the Blame upon thoſe *Favorites* and *Followers*, and not upon the King (as we ſhall ſee by and by.)

2. We need not wonder then why private *Favorites* and *Followers* are ſuch Enemies to Parliaments and their Priviledges, which are on purpoſe to hinder their Gains: Of which alſo more anon.

3. The two Houſes are by the Law it ſeems, to be *Truſted*, when they declare that the Power is made uſe of for the Hurt of the People; and the Name of *Publick Neceſſity* made uſe of for the Gain of *Private Favorites* and *Followers*, and the like.

Q. 18. *What are the ſpecial Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons towards this?*

A. **The Houſe of Commons, an excellent Conſerver of Liberty——— is ſolely intruſted with the firſt Propoſitions concerning the Levies of Moneys, which is the Sinews as well of Peace as of War,** &c. page 19.

Obſerv. 1. It ſeems then the *Houſe of Commons* is preſumed to be more careful for the Subjects Liberties, than either the King, or the Houſe of Peers.

2. Then it muſt needs be ſtrange for any to conceive (as the Kings Declarations would perſwade) that the Houſe of Commons would fight againſt, and ſubvert the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Kings Favorites and Followers fight for them, and protect them.

3. Then no Moneys may be levied, neither for Peace nor War, no, not under pretence of *Publick Neceſſity* (as Ship Money and Monopolies were) without the Houſe of Commons firſt propound and grant it.

4. If the Houſe of Commons be an *excellent Conſerver of Liberty*, it muſt needs have ſome power in ſome cales to levy Money, even without the Kings Conſent; or elſe it will be utterly unpoſſible to conſerve *Liberty* at all. Of which likewiſe more anon.

Q. 19. *But if the Kings private Favorites and Followers have actually perſwaded him to any thing againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, with what further Power and Priviledge is the Houſe of Commons intruſted towards the Conſerving of Liberty?*

A. **With**

A. **With the impeaching of those, who for their own ends, though countenanced by any surreptitiously-gotten Command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect; and to the protection of which, they were bound to advise him, at least not to serve him in the contrary,** page 19.

Observ. 1. Then it is no Excuse to any that violate the Laws, that they *serve the King* in it.

2. The Law counts all Commands from the King, which are any way contrary to the Law, *Surreptitiously gotten.*

3. Then the Parliament speaks according to the Law, when they constantly lay the Blame of all Violations upon the Kings *Favorites* and *Followers*, and their getting surreptitiously Commands from him, and not upon the King himself.

4. No Command of the King is to hinder the Commons from impeaching such as have violated the Law.

5. The King is bound not to protect any of his Followers and Favorites against the Commons Impeachment of them; because he knows and affirms, that he is bound to protect the Laws, and that this is the Law, that the Commons are to impeach such.

Q. 20. *What is the special Priviledge of the House of Peers in the former Case of such Favorites and Followers of the Kings, as are impeached by the Commons? and so to decide all Matters in Questions between the King and People.*

A. **The Lords being trusted with a Judicatory Power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and the People, to assist each against any Encroachment of the other, and by just Judgments, to preserve that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three,** page 19.

Q. 21. *But have the two Houses Power to put their Judgments into Execution, as well as to Impeach and Judge?*

A. **The power of punishment is already in your Hands, according to Law,** page 20.

Observ. 1. Then again, it is no wonder that the Kings *Favorites* and *Followers* hate Parliaments, (who not only hinder their Gain, but have power to punish them) when they have violated the Laws.

2. Then the Lords (and much more the two Houſes together) are Supream Judges of all Matters in difference between the King and the People, and have power to prevent all the Kings Encroachments upon the People, , as well as the Peoples upon him.

3. Then the King is bound not to protect any, whom the Lords, upon the Impeachment of the Commons, have judged Delinquents; for he hath granted that he is bound to protect the Law, and that according to Law, the Power of Puniſhing (even of his *Favorites* and *Followers*, fore-ſpoken of) is in their Hands, and they cannot puniſh them, ſo long as he protects them.

4. Then the Law allows them as the Supream Judicatory (even that which muſt be a Skreen between the King and the People, and aſſiſt the People againſt the Kings Encroachments, and puniſh the Kings *Favorites* and *Followers*, though countenanced by Surreptitiouſly-gotten Commands from the King) a power to bring ſuch as they have judged (or are to judge) to condign Puniſhment, which is granted to all inferior Judges in their Circuits and Juriſdictions.

5. Then if thoſe Delinquents get the King to protect them, or ſurreptitiouſly get Commands of him, to raiſe Arms to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Judgment of the two Houſes, the two Houſes have power by the Law, to raiſe not only the *Poſſe Comitatus* of thoſe Counties where ſuch Delinquents are, to apprehend them, but alſo the *Poſſe Regni*, the Power of the whole Kingdom, if need be; or elſe the Power of Puniſhment is not in their hands according to Law, and it would be ſafer contemning and ſcorning and oppoſing the higheſt Judicatory, the Parliament, than any inferior Court, a Judge of Aſſize, or the like; and they that could get Commands to violate the Law before, would eaſily get protection againſt the Parliament, when they are queſtioned, if the Parliament had no Power to raiſe Arms to ſuppreſs them.

Q. 22. *But if there be an Attempt or Danger, that the Kings Favorites and Followers go about to change this Regulated Monarchy into an Arbitrary Government, and ſo into a Tiranny; is there Authority in the Houſes ſufficient, according to what was fore mentioned, to remedy this?*

A Power legally placed in both Houſes, is more than ſufficient to prevent and reſtrain the power of Tirranny, page 20.

Obſerv. 1.

Obſerv. 1. Then at leaſt whatever power is neceſſary to prevent or reſtrain the power of Tiranny, is confeſſed to be legally placed in both Houſes; for elſe there is not Power ſufficient, much leſs, more than ſufficient.

2. Then it is lawful for the two Houſes to raiſe Arms to defend themſelves, in caſe an Army be raiſed againſt them, for elſe they have not power ſufficient to reſtrain the power of Tiranny: There is no greater Attempt of Tiranny than to raiſe Arms againſt the Houſes of Parliament, and there is no way to reſtrain this Tiranny, but by raiſing Arms in their own Defence: Leſs than this cannot be ſufficient.

3. If a Legal Power be placed in them, not only to reſtrain, but *prevent the Power of Tiranny*, then they are the Legal Judges, when there is danger of Tiranny; and they have Legal Power to Command their Judgment to be obeyed, for prevention as well as reſtraint of *Tiranny*.

4. Then it is lawful for them to provide for their own and the Kingdoms Safety, and they have legal power to command the People to this purpoſe, not only when Arms are actually raiſed againſt them, but when they diſcern, and accordingly declare a Preparation made towards it: for if they let alone altogether the *Exerciſe* of their Power, till Arms are actually raiſed againſt them, they may in all likelyhood find it too late, not only to *Prevent*, but even to *Reſtrain the Power of Tiranny*.

5. Then they have legal power in ſuch times of Danger, to put into ſafe hands, ſuch Forts, Ports, Magazines, Ships, and Power of the *Militia*, as are intended, or likely to be intended, to introduce a Tiranny; for elſe they cannot have Power ſufficient to *Prevent* or *Reſtrain the Power of Tiranny*.

6. Then they have legal Power to levy Moneys, Arms, Horſe, Ammunitions, upon the Subjects, in ſuch Caſes of *Danger*, even without or againſt the Kings Conſent; for it cannot be imagined, that in ſuch Caſes, when the Kings Favorites and Followers have gotten Commands from him, to protect them in their Delinquencies, and Attempts to introduce Tiranny, that ever he will conſent to Levies of Moneys againſt thoſe Favorites and Followers of his, or to the raiſing Arms againſt them, eſpecially he being ſtill in their Hands, and among them, and not with his Parliament; and without ſuch Levies of Money, *&c.* it is not

poſſible for the two Houſes of Parliament to prevent or reſtrain ſufficiently the *Power of Tiranny*.

7. They that have made the *Proteſtation*, to maintain and defend the *Power and Priviledges of Parliament*, may ſee in all theſe things (acknowledged by the King, and clearly following from his Acknowledgments) what is that *Power*, and what are *Priviledges of Parliament*, which they have ſo ſolemnly in the Preſence of Almighty God, vowed, promiſed and proteſted to maintain, &c.

8. And finally, ſince the two Houſes of *Parliament* have ſo often and fully declared their *Intentions* in ſetling the *Militia*, ſecuring *Hull* and the Magazine there, and the Navy at Sea, with the Ports and Forts, and afterward in raiſing Arms under the Command of the *Earl of Eſſex*, and laſt of all, levying Moneys by voluntary Contributions and Aſſeſſments; they have only uſed that *Legal Power* which is in them for the *Puniſhment* of *Delinquents*, and for the *Prevention* and *Reſtraint* of the *Power of Tiranny*, of all which they are the Legal Judges; and all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound by the Laws to obey them herein, and thoſe doubly bound that have made the late *Proteſtation*.

That

That the Reader may the better discern how the Answers here applied do agree with the Words of His Majesties Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, I have here transcribed so much of it as concerns this Particular.

Pag. 17. WE call God to witness, that as for our Subjects Sake these Rights are vested in Us, so for their Sakes (as well as for our own) we are resolved not to quit them, nor to subvert (though in a Parliamentary way) the ancient, equal, happy, well-poised, and never-enough commended Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom.

There being three kinds of Government amongst Men, Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, and all these having their Particular Conveniences and Inconveniences.

Pag. 18. The Experience and Wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this out of a Mixture of these, as to give to this Kingdom (as far as humane Prudence can provide) the Conveniences of all three, without the Inconveniences of any one, as long as the Ballance hangs even between the three Estates, and they run jointly on in their proper Channel begetting Verdure and Fertility in the Meadows on both sides) and the overflowing of either on either side, raise no Deluge or Inundation. The Ill of Absolute Monarchy is Tiranny: The ill of Aristocracy is Faction and Division: The Ills of Democracy are Tumults, Violence, and Licentiousness. The Good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one Head, to resist Invasion from abroad, and Insurrection at Home: The Good of Aristocracy, is the Conjunction of Councel

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in the ablest Persons of a State for the publick Benefit: The Good of Democracy, is Liberty, and the Courage and Industry which Liberty begets.

In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People, all having free Votes and particular Priviledges. The Government, according to these Laws, is trusted to the King, Power of Treaties of War and Peace, of making Peers, of chooſing Officers and Counsellors for State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising Men to make War abroad, or to prevent and provide against Invasions or Insurrections at home, Benefit of Confiscations, Power of Pardoning, and some more of the like kind are placed in the King —— Again, Pag. 19. That the Prince may not make use of this high and perpetual Power to the hurt of those for whose Good he hath it, and make use of the Name of Publick Necessity for the Gain of his private Favourites and Followers to the Detriment of his People; the House of Commons, an excellent Conserver of Liberty, but never intended for any share in Government, or the chusing of them that should govern) is solely intrusted with the first Propositions concerning the Levies of Moneys (which is the Sinews as well of Peace as War) and the impeaching of those, who for their own Ends, though countenanced by any surreptitiously gotten Command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect, and to the Protection of which they were bound to advise him, at least not to serve him to the contrary: and the Lords being trusted with a Judicatory Power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and People, to assist each against any Incroachments of the other, and by just Judgments to preserve that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three ——

Pag. 20. Since therefore the Power legally placed in both Houses is more than sufficient to prevent and restrain the Power of Tiranny: —— since this would be a total Subversion of the Fundamental Laws, and that excel-

lent

lent Constitution of this Kingdom, which hath made this Nation so many years both famous and happy, to a great degree of Envy; since to the Power of Punishing (which is already in your Hands according to Law) if — since the Encroaching of one of these Estates upon the Power of the other is unhappy in the Effects both to them and all the rest — Pag. 22. Our Answer is, Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari. But this we promise, that we will be as careful of preserving the Laws in what is supposed to concern wholly our Subjects, as in what most concerns Our self: For indeed We profess to believe that the Preservation of every Law concerns Us, those of Obedience being not secure, when those of Protection are violated.

FINIS.